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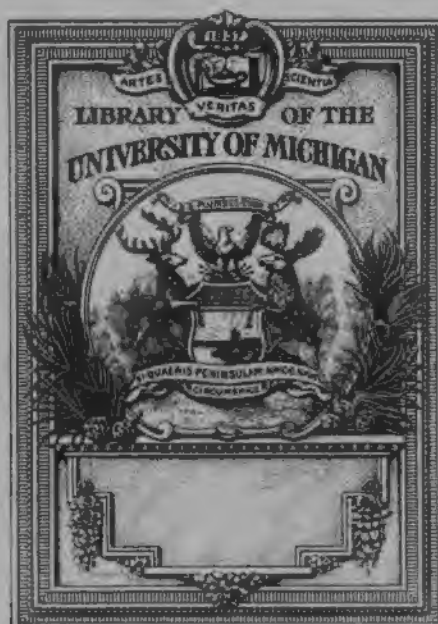
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AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.

The American Economic Association is an organization composed mainly of persons interested in the study of political economy or the economic phases of political and social questions. As may be seen by examining the list of members and subscribers printed in this volume, not only are all universities and most prominent colleges in the country represented in the Association by their teachers of political economy and related subjects, but even a larger number of members come from those interested as business men, journalists, lawyers or politicians in the theories of political economy or, more often, in their applications to social life. There are further more than one hundred subscribers, nearly all being large libraries.

The first two meetings of the Economic Association in 1885 and 1887, and the meetings of 1897, 1898, 1900, and 1901, were at the same place as those of the American Historical Association. Joint sessions and less formal gatherings of the members of the two Associations were thus held. The annual meetings give opportunity for social intercourse among the teachers and public men composing the Association's membership. They contribute also to create and cement acquaintanceship and friendship between teachers of economics and cognate subjects in different institutions, and so to counteract any tendency to particularism which the geographical separation and the diverse traditions of American colleges might be deemed to foster.

The Publications of the Association, a complete list

of which is printed at the end of this volume, were begun in March, 1886. The first series of eleven volumes was completed by a general index in 1897. The second series, comprising two volumes, was published in 1897-99, and in addition thereto the Association issued, during 1896-99, four volumes of Economic Studies. In 1900, a third series of quarterly Publications was begun with the Papers and Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Meeting, and has been continued since with ample amount and variety of matter. It is intended to add to these quarterly numbers, from time to time, such monographic supplements as the condition of the treasury and the supply of suitable manuscript may make possible.

The American Economic Association is the organ of no party, sect or institution. It has no creed. Persons of all shades of economic opinion are found among its members, and widely different views are given a hearing in its annual meetings and through its publications.

The officers of the Association and the contributors to its Publications receive no pay for their services. Its entire receipts are expended in printing and circulating the Publications and in the slight expenses attendant upon the annual meetings. Any member, therefore, may regard his annual dues either as a subscription to an economic publication, a payment for membership in a scientific association, or a contribution to a publication fund for aiding the publication of valuable manuscript that might not be accepted by a publishing house governed primarily by motives of profit, and that could not be published by the writer without incurring too heavy a burden of expense.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

NAME.

This Society shall be known as the AMERICAN ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION.

ARTICLE II.

OBJECTS.

1. The encouragement of economic research, especially the historical and statistical study of the actual conditions of industrial life.
2. The publication of economic monographs.
3. The encouragement of perfect freedom of economic discussion. The Association as such, will take no partisan attitude, nor will it commit its members to any position on practical economic questions.
4. The establishment of a bureau of information designed to aid members in their economic studies.

ARTICLE III.

MEMBERSHIP.

Any person may become a member of this Association by paying three dollars, and after the first year may continue a member by paying an annual fee of three dollars. On payment of fifty dollars any person may become a life member, exempt from annual dues.¹

ARTICLE IV.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

The Council may elect foreign economists of distinction not exceeding twenty-five in number, honorary

¹ NOTE—Each member receives all reports and publications of the Association.

members of the Association. Each honorary member shall be entitled to receive all reports and publications of the Association.

ARTICLE V.

OFFICERS.

The officers of the society shall consist of a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer, a Publication Committee, and a Council.

ARTICLE VI.

COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall consist of an indefinite number of members of the society, chosen, with the exception of the original members, for three years. It shall have power to fill all vacancies in its membership, and may add to its number.

2. It shall elect the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer, which officers, with the Chairman of the Publication Committee, shall constitute an Executive Committee with such power as the Council may entrust to it.

3. The Council shall organize itself into a number of standing committees upon the various lines of research undertaken. These committees shall prepare reports from time to time upon such subjects relating to their respective departments as they may select, or as may be referred to them by the Council. These reports shall be presented to the Council at its regular or special meetings and be open to discussion. All papers offered to the society shall be referred to the appropriate committees before being read in Council.

4. The Council shall have charge of the general interests of the society, and shall have power to call meet-

ings and determine what reports, papers, or discussions are to be printed, and may adopt any rules or regulations for the conduct of its business not inconsistent with this constitution.

5. The Council shall elect a Committee on Publications, which shall consist of six members, so classed that after the first election the term of two members shall expire each year. This committee shall have charge of and responsibility for the scientific publications of the Association.

ARTICLE VII.

AMENDMENTS.

Amendments, after having been approved by a majority of the Council, may be adopted by a majority vote of the members present at any regular meeting of the Association.

BY-LAWS.

1. The President of the Association, who shall be *ex-officio* a member of the Council, shall preside at all meetings of the Council and Association, and perform such other duties as may be assigned to him by the Council. In case of inability to perform his duties, they shall devolve upon the Vice-Presidents in the order of their election, upon the Secretary and Treasurer, and upon the Chairmen of the Standing Committees, in the order in which the committees are mentioned in the list.

2. The Secretary shall keep the records of the Association, and perform such other duties as the Council may assign to him.

3. The Treasurer shall receive and have the custody

of the funds of the Association, subject to the rules of the Council.

4. The following Standing Committees shall be organized :

- (1). On Labor.
- (2). On Transportation.
- (3). On Trade.
- (4). On Public Finance.
- (5). On Industrial and Technical Education.
- (6). On Exchange.
- (7). On General Questions of Economic Theory.
- (8). On Statistics.
- (9). On Teaching Political Economy.

The Executive Committee may appoint such special committees as it may deem best.

5. At any meeting called by the general summons of the President five members shall constitute a quorum.

6. Papers offered for the consideration of the Council, shall be referred by the Secretary, each to its appropriate committee.

7. In order to encourage economic research, the Association proposes to render pecuniary assistance in the prosecution of the same, and to offer prizes for the best monographs upon selected topics. It stands ready to accept and administer any fund placed at its disposal for either purpose.

8. The Executive Committee shall have power at any time to add new members to the Council.

9. The Executive Committee shall assign all members of the Council to one of the Standing Committees, and shall appoint the Chairmen of the Committees.

10. It shall be the duty of the Chairman of the respective Committees to organize and direct the work of the same, under the general control of the Council.

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 STEWART, JOHN LAMMEY, Lehigh University, South Bethlehem, Pa.
 STOKES, ANSON PHELPS, 47 Cedar Street, New York City.
 STOKES, H. K., 8 Hopkins St., Providence, R. I.
 STONE, ALFRED HOLT, Greenville, Miss.
 STONE, NAHUM I., 2194 Washington Ave., New York City.
 STRAUS, ISIDOR, 6th Avenue and 14th Street, New York City.
 STRAUS, OSCAR SOLOMON, 42 Warren Street, New York City.
 STRAWBRIDGE, JUSTUS C., N. W. corner 8th and Market Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.
 STRONG, THOMAS N., Portland, Ore.
 STRONG, WILLIAM H., 134 Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Mich.
 †SWARTHMORE COLLEGE LIBRARY, Swarthmore, Pa.
 SWAIN, HENRY H., Prof., Dillon, Mont.
 *SWAYNE, WAGER, 195 Broadway, New York City.
 SYLVESTER, J. WALTER, Albany, N. Y.
 TAKASU, TASUKE, Japanese Legation, Peking, China.
 TAKEMURA, KINJI, care of Y. Ikeda, 27 Masagocho Hongo, Tokio, Japan.
 †TAMAYA, T. & Co., 5 Guiza Sanchome, Kyobashiku, Tokio, Japan.
 TANKA, M. I., Librarian Imperial Library, Tokio, Japan.
 TATEISH, SAJIRO, 540 Broadway, New York City.
 TAUSSIG, FRANK WILLIAM, Prof., Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
 TAYLOR, FRED MANVILLE, Prof., University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 TAYLOR, GRAHAM, Prof., 43 Warren Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
 TAYLOR, WILLIAM G. LANGWORTHY, Prof., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
 TENNEY, D. K., 108 E. Main St., Madison, Wis.
 TENNY, M. A. 435 Beatty St., Pittsburg, Pa.
 TE PASKE, ANTHONY, Sioux Center, Ia.
 *THOM, DECOURCEY WRIGHT, 119 E. Baltimore Street, Baltimore, Md.
 THOMPSON, SANDFORD, ELEAZER, Newton Highlands, Mass.
 THURBER, CHARLES HERBERT, 13 Tremont Place, Boston, Mass.
 *THURBER, FRANCIS B. 90 W. Broadway, New York City.
 THWAITES, REUBEN GOLD, Secretary of State Historical Society, Madison, Wis.
 TILLINGHAST, (Miss) ELIZABETH SHELDON, 364 Mansfield Street, New Haven, Conn.

- TIMLIN, W. H., 1600 Grand Avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.
 TITSWORTH, JUDSON, D.D., 291 Ogden Ave., Milwaukee, Wis.
 TOOKE, CHARLES WESLEY, Prof., University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
 TUCKER, GEORGE FOX, 616 Barristers' Hall, Boston, Mass.
 TUCKEY, EDSON NEWTON, 22 Lynwood, St., New Haven, Conn.
 TUTTLE, CHARLES AUGUSTUS, Prof., Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana.
 †TWIETMEYER, A., Leipzig, Germany.
 TWINING, A. C., Asbury Park, N. J.
 †UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY, Berkeley, California.
 †UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI, Cincinnati, O.
 †UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO LIBRARY, Boulder, Colo.
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 †UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS LIBRARY, Lawrence, Kansas.
 †UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARY, Ann Arbor, Mich.
 †UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA LIBRARY, Minniapolis, Minn.
 †UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI LIBRARY, Columbia, Mo.
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 †UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA, Norman, Oklahoma.
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 †UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS, Austin, Texas.
 †UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY, Toronto, Canada,
 †UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, Burlington, Vt.
 †UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON, Seattle, Wash.
 UPHAM, FREDERIC W., Pres. Board of Review, Old Colony Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
 URDAHL, THOMAS K., 730 N. Weber Street, Colorado Springs, Col.
 VAN VORHIS, FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS, 1129 Stevenson Bldg., Indianapolis, Ind.
 VEASEY, JOHN H., Lomagundi Dist., Rhodesia, S. Africa.
 VEBLEN, THORSTEIN B., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 VEDITZ, C. W. A., Bates College, Lewiston, Me.
 VENABLE, RICHARD M., 205 E. German Street, Baltimore, Md.
 VIETH, HENRY A., 234 11th Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.
 VINCENT, GEORGE EDGAR, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
 VIRTUE, G. O., Prof., 152 W. Wabash Street, Winona, Minn.
 †WABASH COLLEGE LIBRARY, Crawfordsville, Ind.
 WADLIN, HORACE G., 20 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
 *WADSWORTH, H. L., Editor *Mining and Scientific Review*, Denver, Col.
 °WAGNER, ADOLPH, Prof., University of Berlin, Berlin, Germany.
 WAITE, FREDERICK C., 140 D Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
 WALKER, C. S., Amherst, Mass.
 WALKER, FRANCIS, Prof., Adelbert College, 46 Nantucket Street, Cleveland, O.

- WALKER, T. B., 803 Hennepin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn.
- WALLING, WILLIAM ENGLISH, 4127 Drexel Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.
- °WALRAS, LEON, Prof., University of Lausanne, Lausanne, Switzerland.
- *WALSH, CORREA M., Bellport, L. I.
- WARD, EDWARD G., Jr., Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.
- WARD, JOHN H., 34 Kenyon Building, Louisville, Ky.
- WARD, LESTER FRANK, 1321 M Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
- WARNER, ADONIRAM JUDSON, Marietta, Ohio.
- WARREN, WILLIAM R., 81 Fulton Street, New York City.
- WATKINS, GEORGE P., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
- WEATHERLY, ULYSSES GRANT, Prof., The Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- WEAVER, E. E., Harrodsburg, Ky.
- WEAVER, JAMES RILEY, Prof., DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
- WEBER, ADNA FERRIN, Deputy Commissioner of Labor Statistics, Albany, N. Y.
- WEBER, GUSTAVUS A., Bureau of Labor, Washington, D. C.
- WEEKS, RUFUS W., 346 Broadway, New York City.
- WELLES, F. R., 44 Rue St. Didier, Paris, France.
- WELLS, DAVID COLLIN, Prof., Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H.
- WELLS, PHILIP P., 72 Mansfield Street, New Haven, Conn.
- WEST, EDWIN P., Dayton, Ky.
- WEST, MAX, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.
- WEST, WILLIAM L., 330 W. 3rd Street, St. Paul, Minn.
- †WEST VIRGINIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, Morgantown, W. Va.
- WESTENHAVER, D. C., Martinsburg, W. Va.
- WESTON, NATHAN AUSTEN, University of Illinois, Champaign, Ill.
- *WETMORE, GEORGE PEABODY, Newport, R. I.
- WEYL, WALTER E., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- WHEELER, FRED B., 30 Chenango Street, Binghamton, N. Y.
- WHITE, ALBERT B., Charleston, W. Va.
- WHITE, ANDREW DICKSON, U. S. Minister to Germany, Berlin.
- WHITE, FRANK, Bismarck, N. D.
- WHITE, HERBERT H., Hartford, Conn.
- WHITE, HORACE, 18 W. 69th Street, New York City.
- *WHITE, JULIAN LEROY, 51 *News* Building, Baltimore, Md.
- WHITE, PETER, Marquette, Mich.
- WHITE, WALTER PORTER, Oshkosh, Wis.
- WHITE, Z. L., 819 East Broad Street, Columbus, Ohio.
- WHITNEY, EDSON LEONE, Prof., Lamar, Mo.
- WHITTLESEY, (Miss) SARAH SCOVILL, 367 Prospect Street, New Haven, Conn.
- WHITTEN, ROBERT HARVEY, State Library, Albany, N. Y.
- WICKER, GEORGE RAY, Dartmouth College, 30 N. Main Street, Hanover, N. H.

- WILCOX, DELOS FRANKLIN, Elk Rapids, Mich.
WILGUS, JAMES ALVA, Platteville, Wis.
WILLARD, MARTIN STEVENSON, Wilmington, N. C.
WILLARD, NORMAN P., 1532 Marquette Building, Chicago, Ill.
WILLARD, TUTHILL, 156 S. Franklin Street, Wilkesbarre, Pa.
WILLCOX, WALTER FRANCIS, Prof., Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
WILLETT, ALLAN H., Brown University, Providence, R. I.
†WILLIAMS COLLEGE LIBRARY, Williamstown, Mass.
WILLIAMS, Dr. G. C. F., Hartford, Conn.
WILLIAMS, HARVEY LADEW, Saranac Lake, N. Y.
WILLIAMS, TALCOTT, 916 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
*WILLIAMS, TIMOTHY SHALER, 913 Union Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
WILLIS, HENRY PARKER, Prof., Washington and Lee University,
Lexington, W. Va.
WILLOUGHBY, WILLIAM FRANKLIN, U. S. Department of Labor,
Washington, D. C.
WILSON, GEORGE GRAFTON, Prof., Brown University, Providence,
R. I.
WILSON, THOMAS, The Aberdeen, St. Paul, Minn.
WILSON, WOODROW, Prof., Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
*WINSLOW, WILLIAM COPLEY, 525 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.
WINSTON, AMBROSE PARÉ, 6127 Kimbark Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
WOOD, FREDERICK A., 295 Pawtucket Street, Lowell, Mass.
WOOD, HENRY, 1654 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.
WOOD, STUART, 400 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
*WOODFORD, ARTHUR BURNHAM, Prof., "Oak Hill," 469 Whalley
Avenue, New Haven, Conn.
WOODRUFF, CLINTON ROGERS, 818-819 Girard Building, Philadel-
phia, Pa.
WOODWARD, P. H., Connecticut General Life Insurance Co., Hart-
ford, Conn.
WOOLWORTH, JAMES MILLS, Omaha, Neb.
†WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, Worcester, Mass.
*WORTHINGTON, T. K., *The Daily News*, Baltimore, Md.
WRIGHT, CARROLL DAVIDSON, United States Commissioner of Labor,
Washington, D. C.
WYCKOFF, WALTER AUGUSTUS, Prof., Princeton University, Prince-
ton, N. J.
WYLIE, Rev. WM. H., Greencastle, Ind.
YAGER, ARTHUR, Prof., Georgetown, Ky.
YARROS, VICTOR S., 290 LaSalle Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
YOUMANS, G. F., Fort Smith, Ark.
YOUNG, ALLYN A., Madison, Wis.
YOUNG, FREDERICK G., Prof., Eugene, Oregon.
YOUNG, JAMES T., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
YOUNG, JOHN P., *Chronicle* Office, San Francisco, Cal.
ZACHRY, JAMES G., 70 E. 54th Street, New York City.

SUMMARY OF MEMBERSHIP.

FEBRUARY 1, 1902.

Honorary members	12
Life members	74
Annual members	749
Subscribers	130
Total	<u>965</u>

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION
OF
MEMBERS AND SUBSCRIBERS.

Alabama	1
Arkansas	3
California	27
Colorado	7
Connecticut	38
District of Columbia	68
Georgia	2
Idaho	1
Illinois	59
Indiana	18
Iowa	19
Kansas	4
Kentucky	5
Louisiana	4
Maine	6
Maryland	23
Massachusetts	102
Michigan	29
Minnesota	21
Mississippi	1
Missouri	26
Montana	4
Nebraska	15
New Hampshire	6
New Jersey	19
New York	183

Members and Subscribers.

41

North Carolina	4
North Dakota	2
Ohio	50 6
Oklahoma	1
Oregon	7
Pennsylvania	65 4
Rhode Island	10
South Dakota	3
Tennessee	3
Texas	5
Vermont	3
Virginia	2
Washington	14
West Virginia	8
Wisconsin	33 2
Wyoming	3
Canada	7
Other foreign countries	54
Total	<u>965</u>

THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association was held at Washington, D. C., on Friday, Saturday, and Monday, December 27, 28, and 30, 1901. The American Historical Association met at the same time and place, the sessions being in the Columbian University, and joint sessions of the two Associations were held Friday and Monday evenings. The first joint meeting was presided over by General A. W. Greeley, who said in welcoming the two Associations :

Ladies and Gentlemen :

The American people are making history as rapidly to-day as in the olden time, and the world is turning to the United States for the settlement of many economic questions. But we are the happier than the men of old in that we now have time to write history, and to draw those lessons from it which may be of value in an economic direction. It is fortunate for this country that there are members of these two societies, the American Economic, and the American Historical Associations, who are willing to give of their time and of their energy, and to sacrifice their Christmas holidays, to come together in the Capitol city of the nation that they may consult as to how the history of the past may best be written and how we may draw therefrom lessons that will be of value to the United States in particular and to the world in general. When these two societies meet here we feel that they deserve a welcome. A gentleman who does not need an introduction to a

Washington audience, the President of the Columbian University, Dr. Greene, will, on the part of the local committees, extend a word of greeting to the distinguished women and men who have honored us on this occasion.

Rev. Samuel H. Greene gave the following words of welcome :

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen :

In behalf of the corporation and the faculty of Columbian University, it is my privilege to bid you a most cordial welcome, both to this city and to this place where you are now assembled. For the fair city in which you are gathered no words I can say are necessary ; she speaks for herself, both in the quality of her citizenship and in the character of work here wrought. It is pleasant for me in behalf of my colleagues in this University to say how heartily welcome you are, both because of the objects which underlie the organizations represented, and the distinguished membership gathered here. The one remembers the days that are gone, and holding them in the light of just history, seeks to make the past and the men that are gone minister to the present and the men that are. The other organization grasps the problems which are ever and anon presenting themselves with the onward progress of the people, and seeks to master them. We trust that in this gathering each of your organizations may more than realize your fondest expectations, and that you may find these sessions the most interesting and profitable of any in your history. I bid you God-speed in your work, and again in behalf of this city, in behalf of Columbian University I bid you a most hearty welcome.

The program, as carried out, was as follows :

PROGRAM.

First Session—Friday, December 27, 8 P. M.

Joint meeting with the American Historical Association,
Gen. A. W. GREELEY in the chair.

1. Address of Welcome : Rev. SAMUEL H. GREENE, President *pro tempore* of the Columbian University.
2. Industrial Liberty. Address by RICHARD T. ELY, President of the American Economic Association.
3. An Undeveloped Function. Address by CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, President of the American Historical Association.

Second Session—Saturday, December 28, 10 A. M.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

1. The Meaning of the Recent Expansion of the Foreign Trade of the United States. BROOKS ADAMS, Quincy, Mass.
2. Discussion : GEORGE E. ROBERTS, Director of the Mint ; CHARLES A. CONANT, Washington Correspondent of the *New York Journal of Commerce*.
3. Commercial Policy of Europe. WORTHINGTON C. FORD, Chief of the Department of Statistics, Boston Public Library.
4. Discussion : HENRY C. EMERY, Professor of Political Economy, Yale University.

Third Session—Saturday, December 28, 2:30 P. M.

ECONOMIC THEORY.

1. Some Theoretical Possibilities of a Protective Tariff. THOMAS N. CARVER, Assistant Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University.
2. Discussion : GUY S. CALLENDER, Professor of Economics and Sociology, Bowdoin College ; MAURICE H. ROBINSON, Instructor in Political Economy, Yale University.
3. The Position of the Workman in the Light of Economic Progress. CHARLES A. TUTTLE, Professor of Political Economy, Wabash College.
4. Discussion : DAVID KINLEY, Professor of Economics, University of Illinois ; SAMUEL M. LINDSAY, Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania.

Fourth Session—Saturday, December 28, 8 P. M.

LABOR PROBLEMS.

1. The Negro in the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta. ALFRED H. STONE, Greenville, Miss.
 2. Discussion : L. G. POWERS, Chief Statistician for Agriculture, U. S. Census.
 3. Conciliation and Arbitration among Miners. HERMAN JUSTI, Commissioner, Illinois Coal Operators' Association.
 4. Discussion : CARROLL D. WRIGHT, Commissioner, U. S. Department of Labor.
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MONDAY, Dec. 30, 9:30 A. M., visits to Census Office and the Library of Congress.

Fifth Session—Monday, December 30, 2:30 P. M.

PUBLIC FINANCE.

1. Porto Rican Finance : A Comparative Study of Spanish and American Systems of Colonial Finance. THOMAS S. ADAMS, University of Wisconsin, late of the Office of the Treasurer of Porto Rico.
2. Discussion : JACOB H. HOLLANDER, Associate Professor of Finance, Johns Hopkins University, Treasurer of Porto Rico.
3. Report of the Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounts and Statistics. MOSES N. BAKER, Chairman, Associate Editor, *Engineering News*.
4. Discussion : CHARLES E. CURTIS, Vice-President of the City Bank of New Haven ; ROLAND P. FALKNER, Chief of Division of Documents, Library of Congress.

Sixth Session—Monday, December 30, 8 P. M.

Second joint meeting with the American Historical Association,
Judge MARTIN A. KNAPP in the chair.

1. Party Legislation in Parliament, Congress and State Legislatures. A. LAWRENCE LOWELL, Professor of the Science of Government, Harvard University.
2. Discussion : HARRY PRATT JUDSON, Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago.
3. Historical Materialism and the Economic Interpretation of History. EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN, Professor of Political Economy and Finance, Columbia University.
4. Discussion : ISAAC A. LOOS, Professor of Political Science, University of Iowa ; E. P. CHEYNEY, Professor of European History, University of Pennsylvania.

MEMBERS IN ATTENDANCE.¹

Henry C. Adams, Thos. S. Adams, C. H. Ames, M. N. Baker, Simeon E. Baldwin, George E. Barnett, Don C. Barrett, John S. Bassett, George L. Beer, John W. Black, Ernest L. Bogart, Chas. J. Bullock, Guy S. Callender, Thos. N. Carver, Miss Kate Claghorn, John B. Clark, W. E. Clark, Frederick R. Clow, John R. Commons, Chas. A. Conant, Frederick M. Corse, John F. Crowell, John Cummings, James H. Curran, Chas. E. Curtis, John P. Cushing, Winthrop M. Daniels, Arthur N. Day, J. Harry Dempsey, Edward T. Devine, Davis R. Dewey, Rev. M. Angelo Dougherty, E. D. Durand, J. N. Dynes, R. T. Ely, H. C. Emery, J. A. Fairlie, Henry W. Farnam, Miss Anna L. Farnham, A. B. Farquhar, Henry Farquhar, Henry Ferguson, Frank A. Fetter, Irving Fisher, William W. Folwell, J. Dorsey Forrest, A. W. Flux, Herbert Friedenwald, Henry B. Gardner, John E. George, Frank J. Goodnow, Victor Graetz, John H. Gray, James D. Hancock, G. W. W. Hanger, Edward T. Hartman, Edward M. Hartwell, Frederick C. Hicks, Jacob H. Hollander, Isaac Hourwich, C. H. Hull, Maurice Jacobson, A. S. Johnson, E. R. Johnson, L. M. Keasbey, David Kinley, Martin Knapp, R. Kuczynski, G. D. Leslie, Samuel Lindsay, Isidor Loeb, Isaac A. Loos, John J. McNulty, Frank L. McVey, Milo R. Maltbie, Theodore Marburg, Byron C. Mathews, Elwood Mead, Royal Meeker, Adolph Miller, Wallace E. Miller, Frederick W. Moore, Harry T. Newcomb, Joseph Nimmo, J. Pease Norton, Simon N. Patten, George A. Plimpton, H. W. Quaintance, Burr J. Ramage, Maurice H. Robinson, Philip A. Robinson, Henry R. Seager, Edwin R. A. Seligman, Harrison S. Smalley, Ernest A. Smith, Delos D. Smyth, Charles W. Spencer, James O. Spencer, Worthy P. Sterns, John L.

¹ Probably some others did not register.

Stewart, Alfred H. Stone, Nahum I. Stone, William G. Taylor, Reuben G. Thwaites, Charles A. Tuttle, Francis Walker, Adna F. Weber, Gustavus A. Weber, Philip P. Wells, Max West, Peter White, Delos F. Wilcox, W. F. Willcox, H. P. Willis, J. G. Zachry. Total, 114.

COUNCIL MEETINGS.

A meeting of the Council was held Dec. 28, 1901, at 9.30 a. m., at the Hotel Shoreham, President Ely in the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting held in Detroit were read and approved. The committee on convention week reported briefly, and was continued for another year. The report of the Treasurer, Charles H. Hull, was read, which was referred to the Auditing Committee. It is printed below. The acting Secretary read his report for the year, and it was accepted and approved. It is as follows:

REPORT OF THE ACTING SECRETARY.

The members of the Executive Committee were so widely scattered that it seemed wise to omit the customary autumn meeting this year. No difficulty was experienced, however, in settling by correspondence the various questions which arose from time to time.

The special committee on the economic condition of the American Negro, authorized by the Council at the 12th annual meeting¹ and partly appointed last year,² has been completed by the addition of two new members. As now constituted it consists of Messrs. Walter F. Willcox, chairman, Ithaca, N. Y.; W. E. Burghardt Dubois, Atlanta, Ga.; Harry T. Newcomb, Philadelphia,

¹ Proceedings, p. 43.

² Proceedings 13th meeting, p. 48.

Pa.; William Z. Ripley, Boston, Mass., and Alfred H. Stone, Greenville, Miss. This committee is expected to report at the next annual meeting,¹ using, among other sources of information, certain census returns which will become available before that time. Meanwhile, Mr. Stone presents at this 14th meeting, a paper upon one phase of the same subject.

The special committee on Uniform Municipal Accounts and Statistics has also been continued, and will present a further report at this meeting.

At the 13th meeting the Council resolved, 27th Dec., 1900, to call upon its members to suggest each at least five candidates for membership in the Association.²

This request meeting with an encouraging response, the Executive Committee authorized the Secretary to call, in his discretion, upon any other members of the Association for similar suggestions. To the persons thus proposed for membership, the President sent an invitation to join, and as a result, the Association secured about 150 new members. This membership campaign has increased the year's administrative expenses by about \$100 over last year's; but inasmuch as it has extended greatly the influence of the Association, and as it bids fair to add at least \$500 to our annual income, the expenditure may be regarded as money well invested.

During the year 1901, six members died, two of them being life members; twenty-eight resigned, and eight were dropped for non-payment of dues, making a total loss of forty-two between the date of the last report and December 24th of this year. On the other hand, 221 new members were added, leaving a net gain of 179 members.

¹ It will not report until the meeting two years hence. See report below, p. 54.

² Proceedings, p. 52.

Allowing for a net loss of three on the subscription list, the net gain of members and subscribers this year is 176. This is the largest increase in the recent history of the Association. In 1890 we had 635 members and subscribers, and from that time to 1897 the total members and subscribers varied little, attaining a maximum of 668 in 1897.¹ In 1898 the net gain was 17, in 1899 it was 32, in 1900 it was 57, this year it was 176. Accordingly, our total numerical strength is now 950, much the greatest in the history of the Association. The secretary may perhaps be permitted to record his opinion, that while this result could not have been reached without the cordial coöperation of the members, it would not have been reached save for the energy of President Ely, who has given much time to advancing the Association's interests.

In entering these new members, the former secretary adopted the plan of dating their membership from January 1, thus synchronizing them with the subscribers and with the volume year, instead of beginning their membership with the first of September as was the plan formerly. No trouble has been experienced in consequence and the advantages are obvious.

In July of this year, there appeared the delayed first volume of Mr. A. McF. Davis's History of Currency and Banking in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, which was due the previous November. The second volume, completing the work, came out early in September. The reason for the delay in issuing these numbers was explained at the last meeting of the Council. It has added greatly to the difficulties of the secretary's duties throughout the year. It is a pleasure to report,

¹ Handbook, New Haven meeting, p. 47.

however, that we are now up to date with the issue of our series, having issued the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting in April, a monograph on The Theory of Value before Adam Smith, by Dr. Hannah R. Sewall, in October, and A Comparative Study of the Administration of City Finances in the United States, by Dr. Frederick R. Clow, early in December.

The total number of pages actually printed between April and December, omitting advertisements, is 1,387, of which 473 were of the delayed number of last year, and 914 were for the current year. This number (914), though smaller than the number in the last volume (1,162), is larger than that of any other year, except in 1899, when the 4th volume of Economic Studies and an extra volume on the Federal Census were printed.

By a departure from our practice heretofore, Mr. Davis's history is illustrated with thirty-five half-tone plates. While this feature adds to the usefulness of the book, it adds also to the expense, and would have been impracticable had not the author offered to advance the cost of illustrations. By an agreement made with him by the Publication Committee and approved by the Executive Committee, the amount involved is to be refunded to him out of the net proceeds of sales of the extra copies of his books, which was printed in an edition of 2,000 instead of the customary 1,300. The Executive Committee also voted that, inasmuch as the first volume of Mr. Davis's book, though issued for November, 1900, did not actually appear until May, 1901, it should be sent to all new members joining this year. Otherwise, they would have but half of the work.

The renewed contract with the Macmillan Co. for the sale of our Publications has worked smoothly. The net receipts from that source are about \$50 smaller than last

year. Permission has been granted to Messrs. R. T. Ely and T. B. Veblen to reprint papers contributed by them to the Publications and copyrighted in the name of the Association. Also the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department was allowed to reprint freely from the Essays in Colonial Finance issued by the Association in August, 1900.¹

In spite of paying the largest bills for printing and distributing publications which the Association has ever met in any one year, in all some \$2,620, several hundred of which were properly chargeable to last year's account, we have a balance in the treasury of \$1,522, or \$150 more than a year ago. The liabilities are several hundred dollars less than at this time last year. This fortunate outcome is due in part to the unexpected receipt of \$250 from life members, in part also to the unusually small amount expended by the former secretary in the transaction of an increased amount of office business, but chiefly to the fact that annual dues brought in almost \$700 more in 1901 than in 1900. With our present membership we can safely count on a cash income of over \$3,200. Though with the increased membership a considerable increase of administrative expenses must be counted on, it will still be possible to print and distribute nearly 1,000 pages per annum without embarrassing our treasury.

In April last, the Secretary and Treasurer, Charles H. Hull, tendered his resignation as Secretary to take effect in June, the new duties imposed on him by a change of his university work, making it impossible for him to continue in that position. The Executive Committee accepted the resignation, and appointed as Acting Secretary the

¹ See Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance for October, 1901, pp. 1359-1378.

undersigned, who has since performed the duties of the office. He has been assisted most generously, however, in many ways, by the former Secretary, whose advice has been helpful and indeed indispensable at every stage of the work.

Respectfully submitted,

FRANK A. FETTER,

Acting Secretary.

The Chair appointed the following committees : As a Nominating Committee, John B. Clark, Walter F. Willcox, Henry C. Emery, Thomas N. Carver, Charles J. Bullock, David Kinley, Davis R. Dewey ; as a Committee on Resolutions : Henry W. Farnam, Henry B. Gardner, Emory R. Johnson ; as Auditing Committee : Carroll D. Wright, Winthrop M. Daniels, John R. Commons.

The Council then adjourned to meet after the general meeting of the evening.

The second meeting of the Council convened Dec. 28, 1901, at 10.30 p. m., in Jurisprudence Hall, President Ely in the chair.

A letter was read from Carl C. Plehn inviting the Association to meet in California next winter, and the invitation was seconded by Adolph C. Miller in person. An invitation was read from the Cincinnati League inviting the Association to meet in that city next year, and a letter from the Mayor of that city seconding the invitation. Edwin R. A. Seligman, on behalf of Columbia University, extended an invitation for the Association to meet in New York. After a discussion on the time and place of the next meeting, the subject was referred to the Executive Committee, with power to act.

A letter from Carl C. Plehn, of the University of California, was read, suggesting the appointment of a com-

mittee to consider the subject of index numbers. After discussion it was referred to the Executive Committee, with instructions to correspond with Mr. Plehn, and to consider the possibility of selecting a committee to study and report on the subject of index numbers.

A resolution was submitted by Frederick R. Clow, providing for a special committee on Local Finance, as follows: *Resolved*, That a special committee of five be appointed to consider the study of local finance and report at the next meeting. This committee shall consult the persons most likely to be interested, especially professors of finance in the larger universities, and prepare plans, if it sees fit, for the systematic and comprehensive study of local finance in the United States. The finances of the states shall be included in this inquiry, as well as the finances of the more strictly local bodies.

The committee shall give special attention to the following questions: 1. Are there any states which should be studied in a certain succession, so that the influence of one upon another may be more readily traced? 2. Is there any practicable way to avoid needless duplication of work, such as dividing the field or arranging to have notice given of work that has been undertaken? 3. Is any plan of coöperation practicable by which different investigators may aid one another while their work is in progress? 4. Would it be desirable to adopt some plan for publishing the results of the study of local finance? If the committee favors affirmative answers to any of these questions, it will be expected to prepare definite plans as far as possible.

The subject was referred to the Executive Committee, with instructions to consider the advisability of the plan suggested, and with power to act.

A motion of Emory R. Johnson, as amended, referred

to the Executive Committee, with power to act, the question of the advisability of appointing five members as a Committee on Transportation in accordance with the Constitution, with instructions to lay before the Association, at its next meeting, the facts regarding the concentration of railroads and other important developments in the transportation problem.

The proposition contained in Mr. Tuttle's paper, read before the Association, was referred to the Executive Committee, with power to act.

On behalf of the Committee on the Negro, Walter F. Willcox made a brief report, stating that in the present condition of things, it would not be possible for the committee to present its final report earlier than December, 1903.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted :

WHEREAS, A committee of this Association, appointed in accordance with a resolution adopted December 30, 1895, and acting in co-operation with a similar committee of the American Statistical Association, presented a memorial to Congress, respectfully calling its attention "to the importance of establishing at once a permanent and independent census office," and

WHEREAS, The statute of March 3, 1899, to provide for taking the Twelfth and subsequent censuses, secured the substantial independence of the Census Office, but not its permanence, and

WHEREAS, A bill to make the present Census Office permanent, in the following terms—is now before Congress; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the American Economic Association renews its previous expressions of "sympathy with all efforts to improve census methods in the United States," and adopts as its own the words already quoted from its committee's memorial.

Resolved, That the secretary of the Association be instructed to transmit copies of this resolution to the Committees on the Census of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The auditing committee reported that it had audited and approved the accounts of the Treasurer, and had signed his report.

SUMMARY OF THE TREASURER'S REPORT, 1901.

CHARLES H. HULL, Treasurer,

*In account with the American Economic Association
for the year ending December 28, 1901.*

Debits.

Cash on hand from last report.....	\$1,372 81
Sales and subscriptions,	
The Macmillan Company.....	\$478 38
Secretary.....	398 19
	<hr/>
	876 57
Reprints.....	33 34
Life members' dues (5).....	250 00
Annual dues.....	2,280 35

Credits.

Publication expenses.....	\$2,620 09
Expenses of President's office.....	133 53
Expenses of Sec'y and Treasurer's office.....	459 12
Expenses of Thirteenth Annual Meeting.....	77 91
Cash in bank.....	1,512 99
Cash on hand.....	9 43
	<hr/>
	\$4,813 07 \$4,813 07

Examined and found correct,
December 28, 1901.

Attest: CARROLL D. WRIGHT,
WINTHROP M. DANIELS,
JOHN R. COMMONS.

The third meeting of the Council convened December 30, 1901, at 5 p. m., President Ely in the chair.

Davis R. Dewey spoke of the advisability of amending the constitution so as to provide for the election of three members of the Executive Committee to take the place of the vice-presidents, as at present provided. The subject was referred to the Executive Committee for consideration and report at the next meeting.

The Council was asked to consider the advisability of establishing a chapter or branch of the Association in New York. It was pointed out that this was possible under the present constitution. The Executive Com-

mittee was authorized to recognize any branch if it seems advisable.

The nominating committee, through its chairman, John B. Clark, reported the following list of nominations for officers for the ensuing year: President, Edwin R. A. Seligman; Vice-Presidents, Theodore Marburg, Fred M. Taylor, John C. Schwab; Secretary and Treasurer, Frank A. Fetter; as members of the Publication Committee, Jacob H. Hollander, chairman, and Thomas N. Carver.

The committee submitted also for re-election to the Council, the names of the forty-seven members whose term of office expires in 1902; also the following list of names of new members to be added to the Council, the same to be distributed by the secretary by lot among the three classes: Thomas S. Adams, George Barnet, Charles A. Conant, Charles E. Edgerton, A. W. Flux, John E. George, John Hyde, Alvin S. Johnson, Martin A. Knapp, J. Pease Norton, George E. Roberts, Maurice H. Robinson, Ernest A. Smith, John L. Stewart, Alfred H. Stone, Nathan A. Weston, Allyn A. Young and Frank J. Goodnow.

The secretary was instructed to cast one ballot for the election of the officers and list of Council members as submitted by the nominating committee.

The President-elect, in response to a general call, addressed the Council briefly.

The committee on resolutions, through its chairman, Henry W. Farnam, reported the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the sincere thanks of the American Economic Association be tendered to the Columbian University, the local Committee of Arrangements, the Washington Economic Society, the Cosmos Club, Mr. and Mrs. John B. Henderson, the Director and Assistant Director of the Census, and the Librarian of Congress, for their

numerous courtesies, which have made the meeting of 1901, peculiarly enjoyable and profitable.

HENRY W. FARNAM,
HENRY B. GARDNER,
EMORY R. JOHNSON,
Committee.

The Council then adjourned.

VISITS.

Most of the members in attendance at the meeting met at the Census Office, at 9.30 a. m., Monday. A short address was made by Frederick H. Wines, Assistant Director, outlining the organization of the Bureau and the plans of the work. The officers in charge of the branches of the work were introduced, and the members were then taken in smaller groups to inspect the methods of work in the population department.

Assembling in the rooms connected with the Division of Documents in the Library of Congress, at 11 o'clock, the Association was addressed by Osgood Putnam, the Librarian, and by Roland P. Falkner, Chief of the Division of Documents. They described the resources of the Library in the fields of economic and social history, and as to public documents of the various countries; explained the lines of work that are now being especially developed, and outlined some of the further plans of the Library looking to its increased usefulness to students of these subjects. The members then visited the different stacks and reading rooms, and were shown the methods of work, mechanical appliances, and administration of the Library.

RECEPTIONS.

A luncheon was given by the Washington Economic

Society to the members of the Association, at the Shoreham Hotel, 1 o'clock, Monday.

The courtesies of the Cosmos Club were extended to the members of the Association throughout the meeting, and on Monday evening a reception was tendered to the Association by the Club.

A reception was tendered Saturday afternoon by Mr. and Mrs. John B. Henderson to the members of the American Historical and the American Economic Associations, and was attended by most of the members of the Association.

PAPERS AND DISCUSSIONS.

INDUSTRIAL LIBERTY.

BY RICHARD T. ELY.

The year 1776 is an epoch-making date in the history of liberty. Every American associates 1776 with the Declaration of Independence, which, however we may look upon it—and all modern criticism just and unjust, to the contrary, notwithstanding—ranks among the greatest and grandest documents of the world's history. It is there asserted, as something axiomatic, as something belonging to the realm of natural law, that liberty is an inalienable right of all men. You all recall the precise words: "We hold these truths to be self-evident;—that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." It is furthermore asserted that the very purpose of the institution of government is to secure these rights, and that every government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed.

But the year 1776 witnessed the appearance of a book which so admirably presented the eighteenth century philosophy of industrial liberty, that by common consent of the intelligent it ranks among the world's greatest books. I refer to Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations", which occupies a pivotal position in modern economic thought, earlier works preparing the way for this master-piece, and subsequent works in economics resting upon the "Wealth of Nations" as a foundation. So profound has been its influence that the centennial of its appearance was deemed worthy of a celebration.

Placing it below the Declaration of Independence in its power over human destinies, nevertheless, I dare to place it in the first rank of publications which deal with human liberty.

The spirit of the age in which he wrote breathes through Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations". This spirit is a world-spirit, and the age is cosmopolitan. This spirit finds its most logical, its clearest and fullest expression in the French philosophy and the French public life of the latter part of the eighteenth century. Liberty, equality and fraternity are made the watch-words of the republic.

When we examine the treatment of liberty in the great historical works of this age, we must be impressed with the simplicity of the problem of liberty, as then conceived. Liberty is thought of as a unity, and not as a complex conception, or bundle of rights. Moreover, we find that liberty is presented in its negative aspects. Restrictions and restraints are found upon liberty, and it is thought that once we clear these away, liberty will assert itself as a benign force.

As in the motto of the French republic, so in the Declaration of Independence, and in Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations", liberty is associated with equality. Natural equality is held to be a fundamental fact, and not by any means a goal to be reached slowly and painfully. Adam Smith looks upon the brick-layer and the statesman as equal in nature, holding that the vast differences between them are due to the varied effects of environment. Had the environment been changed the statesman would have been the brick-layer and the brick-layer the statesman. This theory of equality runs, as a red thread, through the entire social philosophy of that age, and must be borne in mind by one who would

understand the theoretical and practical conclusions reached by that philosophy. The problem which presented itself to our forefathers, and to French statesmen, as well as to English thinkers, was essentially negative. Restrictions must be removed. Favoritism must be abolished, and the laws making possible restrictions and favoritism must be repealed. The restrictions upon liberty which were then noticed were restrictions of a political nature. Consequently the problem of liberty was conceived to be essentially a political problem, as well as a negative one.

Closely associated with this doctrine of equality was the doctrine of the beneficence of self-interest. Inasmuch as men were essentially equal, each one could best guard his own interests individually, provided only the hampering fetters of the law should make way for a reign of liberty. Time does not permit me to follow out, as I would like, the development of this negative view of liberty, which I have presented. From it we may trace out a very clearly marked line of evolution of thought, and a somewhat less clearly marked line of evolution of political practice. Through various writers we reach Herbert Spencer's treatment of liberty as a negative and political problem. The great enemy of freedom, he holds, is the state manifesting itself in laws directing human activity, and in his opinion, leading inevitably to slavery, unless the flow of legislation is in some way checked. We find Herbert Spencer preaching his doctrine of liberty in his "Social Statics" in 1851, and asserting in it the right of man to disregard the state, and in more recent times he expounds his doctrine in articles bearing such titles as these: "The Coming Slavery", "The Sins of Legislators", "The Great Political Superstition."

It is but one step from Herbert Spencer to philosophical anarchy which, in the interests of liberty, would abolish the state altogether. We thus reach the termination of one line of logical evolution of liberty, conceived negatively, as something which may exist if political restraints and restrictions upon action are once removed. Very early, however, those whose interests led them to approach social and economic questions from a different point of view, as well as those who examined the problem of liberty more broadly and deeply, began to qualify the theory of liberty which we have just examined. John Stuart Mill occupies an interesting position in the development of the philosophy of liberty, as in him we see radically antagonistic views struggling with each other for mastery. He was brought up a firm adherent of the eighteenth century social philosophy, but was obliged to qualify it increasingly, as he grew older and gained larger knowledge as a result of broadening experience and deeper thought. On the one hand, in the interests of liberty he would prohibit life-long marriage contracts. On the other hand, he sees the limitations imposed upon freedom of action in the social and economic order, and looks forward to a time of collective ownership of land and capital, although he does not profess to see how this collective ownership is to be managed so as to avoid new restrictions upon liberty.

Another stage in the development of thought is clearly reached in the writings of the English philosopher, Thomas Hill Green,¹ who breaks away altogether from the conception of liberty as something to be achieved by negative, political action, holding that true

¹ T. H. Green, "Liberal legislation and freedom of contract". *Works*, vol. 3. pp. 365-386.

liberty means the expression of positive powers of the individual, and that it can be reached only as a result of a long and arduous constructive process. Green tells us in these words what he means by liberty or freedom : " We do not mean merely freedom from restraint or compulsion. We do not mean merely freedom to do as we like irrespectively of what it is that we like. We do not mean a freedom that can be enjoyed by one man, or one set of men, at the cost of a loss of freedom to others. When we speak of freedom as something to be highly prized, we mean a positive power or capacity of doing or enjoying something worth doing or enjoying, and that, too, something that we do or enjoy in common with others. We mean by it a power which each man exercises through the help or security given him by his fellowmen, and which he in turn helps to secure for them. When we measure the progress of a society by the growth in freedom, we measure it by the increasing development and exercise on the whole of those powers of contributing to social good with which we believe the members of the society to be endowed ; in short, by the greater power on the part of the citizens as a body to make the most and best of themselves."

As anarchy gives us the logical outcome of one line of thought concerning liberty, so we find another line of thought, regarding liberty, going far beyond the necessary implications of Green's position and terminating in the opposite extreme, socialism.

As Adam Smith's philosophy of liberty is an expression of the eighteenth century, Thomas Hill Green's view may be looked upon as an expression of the philosophy of liberty with which the twentieth century opens. There are various reasons for this change of view. One of the most fundamental is, perhaps, found

in the fact that we have discovered human nature to be a more complex thing than it was thought to be in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Instead of a very simple psychology, we have a very complex psychology underlying our twentieth century thought. Inequalities among men we now know are natural, or the natural outcome of the kind of a world in which we live, inhabited by our kind of beings. Men are what they are as a result of heredity, as well as environment. Moreover, we have a heredity of environment itself, which is felicitously termed social heredity. The outcome of this is found in the fact now clearly perceived by those who think deeply on such subjects, that in contract men who are, in one way and another unequals, face each other and that their inequality expresses itself in the contracts which determine their economic condition.

Another cause of the change in view concerning the achievement of liberty, is found in the growing complexity of society, especially on its economic side. Men are brought into society in a real and vital sense by the relations existing among them, and these relations have multiplied enormously during the past century. The economic ties uniting men in society were relatively few and simple in 1776. Their growth, extensively and intensively, is a matter of familiar knowledge at the present time. It is a mere truism to say that our well-being in industrial matters depends on others, as well as on ourselves. Our economic well-being is an outcome of satisfactory relations existing between the individual and society. Now these relations which bind man to his fellow-men are to only a limited extent of a political nature. Consequently it follows that restrictions upon liberty are, for the most part, outside of and beyond

government. Furthermore, the problem of liberty is only to a minor extent a political problem. And as it is only to a minor extent a political problem, it can never, in any true sense, be secured by a mere repeal of political laws, nor indeed by a mere enactment of political laws. Neither removal of politico-economic restrictions upon freedom of trade, nor enactment of universal suffrage, can give us more than a small, fractional part of liberty.

Our own, familiar, everyday experience teaches us that restrictions upon our positive liberty of action are mainly due to the coercion of economic forces. This coercion of economic forces manifests itself in many ways, but largely in and through contract competitively formed. This is seen, first of all, in what may be called the *problem of the twentieth man*. Nineteen men wish to pursue a certain course of economic action, but are coerced competitively by the twentieth into a line of conduct which they dislike. Nineteen barbers in the city of Madison, Wisconsin, wished to close their shops on Sunday; the twentieth would not agree to close his, and consequently, all the twenty were, and still are, kept open. Nineteen men may desire to work ten hours a day, and may be coerced by the twentieth into working fourteen hours a day. Apparently they are all working fourteen hours a day because they choose to do so, but the choice is not a free one, in any true sense of the word. Even the twentieth man prefers to work ten hours a day, but yields to pressure for the sake of a temporary advantage, and so he is likewise coerced. The freedom which thus expresses itself in contract is in certain cases like the freedom of a slave, who chooses to work rather than to suffer under the lash.

The coercion of economic forces is largely due to the

unequal strength of those who make a contract, for back of contract lies inequality in strength of those who form the contract. Contract does not change existing inequalities and forces, but is simply the medium through which they find expression. Wealth and poverty, plenty and hunger, nakedness and warm clothing, ignorance and learning face each other in contract, and find expression in and through contract. According to the theory of Pufendorf, one of the great jurists of his day, slavery is, historically, an outcome of contract. I do not think, myself, that this is a correct view of slavery, as a whole, but it unquestionably explains slavery in many instances. Even in our own day contracts have been formed which have been denounced from the bench as virtual slavery. I have in mind particularly the well known cases which, in the present year, were brought before Judge W. C. Bennett in Columbia, S. C. It appears in the statement of the case by the Judge that negroes entered into contracts whereby they surrendered nearly, if not quite all, those rights which we associate with a condition of freedom. The form of the contract includes the following :

“ I agree at all times to be subject to the orders and commands of said or his agents, perform all work required of me. or his agents shall have the right to use such force as he or his agents may deem necessary to compel me to remain on his farm and to perform good and satisfactory services. He shall have the right to lock me up for safekeeping, work me under the rules and regulations of his farm, and if I should leave his farm or run away he shall have the right to offer and pay a reward of not exceeding \$25 for my capture and return, together with the expenses of same, which amount so advanced, together with any other indebted-

ness I may owe at the expiration of above time, I agree to work out under all rules and regulations of this contract at same wages as above, commencing and ending

The said shall have the right to transfer his interest in this contract to any other party, and I agree to continue work for said assignee same as the original party of the first part."

Judge Bennett, in addressing his grand jury, declared that this nominally free contract "reduced the laborer to a position worse than slavery." In charging the grand jury he said: "No free man in this commonwealth nor any other free country can be permitted, even if he desires to do so, to barter away his liberty and make himself a chattel; and that is what this contract attempts to do." The Judge spoke of it as most pitiful of all that the poor negroes who had formed such a contract should profess "to be satisfied and contented".

The sale of children by their parents in times of distress is a frequent phenomenon in many Oriental countries; and prostitution and slavery can in those countries even to-day often be traced back to contracts of one sort and another.

We have in these instances a very extreme form of the inequality expressed in and through contract, nominally free. What is seen in these cases in extreme form can be seen in lesser degree on every hand, even in the most civilized nations. We see from all this that contract gives expression to inequalities, and allows existing social forces to flow on, involving in some cases, a perpetuation and deepening of degradation.

Furthermore, we have lying back of free contract the great institutions of society, property, and the inheritance of property, and vested interests. In short, all that

passes down from generation to generation lies back of contract and expresses itself in and through contract.

As a result of the nature of man, of the conditions of existence in a world like ours, and of the great historical institutions which have come down to us, men exist in classes. These classes, in modern times, rest upon an economic foundation. Even the political classes of earlier days had, in the beginning, an economic basis, but the older political classes are, in our day a comparatively small matter. The Century Dictionary defines class as follows: "An order or rank of persons; a number of persons having certain characteristics in common, as equality in rank, intellectual influence, education, property, occupation, habits of life."

The existence of classes, which is absolutely necessary, resting upon a foundation beyond the power of man to control, gives complexity to our problem of liberty. A modern jurist has used these words, which have a profound significance in our discussion of the problem of liberty: "There is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals."

The problem of liberty includes the problem of suitable control over the relations which exist among men; for these relations determine the conditions of our social existence. These relations may be considered individually and socially, and the social action may be either of private or public character. The action of a trades union in its endeavor to secure favorable relations, is private social action; a statute, determining the length of the working day, is public social action; and both alike aim, successfully or unsuccessfully as the case may be, to promote liberty. All action which endeavors to remove ignorance and superstition and to strengthen the individual, mentally, morally and physically, is action which en-

deavors to promote liberty. Necessarily, social action which determines or regulates in any way the relations of men among themselves, must restrict freedom of movement at some point, but where it is wise it increases it more than correspondingly at other points. If we have restriction upon liberty called $2a$, we have in the case of wise, social action an increment of liberty which is certainly $2a$ plus something else. The employer may not hire the services of little children, and his liberty to do so is restricted, but the liberty of the children is increased. They are freed from toil, and when provision is made for their wise education and up-bringing, their powers are increased, and they have many fold the liberty to employ themselves in the service of their fellows for their own benefit.

We thus have a vast body of legislation in and through which society seeks liberty. This legislation modifies and qualifies nominally free contract, because nominally free contract may mean servitude of various kinds and various degrees. The aim is the increase of liberty in the positive sense.

Education is one of the lines along which modern society works to secure liberty. It cultivates and enlightens the mind, frees it from enslaving superstition; and, where it is industrial, it cultivates economic powers and aids us in adjusting ourselves in the relations of complex economic society.

Modern legislation, even reluctantly and against the force of prejudice, recognizes increasingly the existence of classes, and the inequalities of powers among human beings. We have one great class in the community, children, for whom we have special laws. Women are another great class, with a nature different from that of men, and with special needs of their own. We have

the farmers; we have the class of men engaged in transportation; the men who work for wages; all with their special needs and peculiarities, finding expression in laws applicable to the class to which they belong. To use expression of Judge Cooley in his *Constitutional Limitations*, we have here simply the recognition of "distinctions that exist in the nature of things".

It would be interesting, if time permitted, to show how many different kinds of legal inequality there may be where we have nominal legal equality. I can refer here only briefly to one or two points. We have inequality in power to secure needed laws. Consequently we have societies and social action in order to secure needed legislation for those who by themselves are not strong enough to gain the ends sought. The street car employees of Baltimore, some years ago, desired to have their hours of labor reduced from seventeen hours and twenty minutes a day to twelve hours, and by social action, in which many of the men of Baltimore, most eminent in church and state and in private fields, participated, a twelve hour day was secured.

There is inequality on account of the knowledge of law on the part of the various classes, and in the power to avail one's self of the law. Consequently, we have societies formed to remedy this evil, and to promote that liberty which comes from balanced powers. We have our bureaus of justice, and our legal aid societies.

And another thing. We have an immense modern development in this country of the police power of the state, as this power is most infelicitously termed. We mean, as everyone versed in the elements of law knows, the general welfare power of the state, restricting and limiting contract in the interests of freedom. This de-

velopment of the police power, slow as it is, shows the adaptability of law to changing industrial and economic conditions. It has been said, and truly, that development of law lags behind the evolution of industrial society, so that the law represents a correspondence to a preceding stage or period in industrial development. It has been difficult for our courts to adjust themselves to the restrictions upon nominally free contract, demanded by the interests of a larger and truer freedom. Consequently, in many cases decisions have been rendered which must be condemned by economic philosophy. Fortunately, however, our courts are finding the needed element of flexibility in our constitutional system in the police power, and are recognizing the fact that a new economic world demands new interpretations. Under American conditions, with upright judges of superior intelligence, devoted to freedom as they understand it, this proposition may be safely maintained, as has been well stated by one of our professors of law: "It has ever been true that in matters of great social and political import, our legal decisions and theories have conformed themselves to the current political and social thought, and not our social and political thought to our legal theories."¹

Among our various state courts I think the truths concerning freedom, which I have so imperfectly brought before you, have been most clearly seen and most explicitly stated by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. Some years ago, legislation restricting the right of women to work in a factory more than ten hours a day and sixty hours a week was upheld. Significant extracts from the decision of the court in this case, are

¹ Professor A. A. Bruce, University of Wisconsin, in the *Record Herald*, Chicago, July 7, 1901.

the following : " It does not forbid any person, firm or corporation from employing as many persons or as much labor as such person, firm or corporation may desire ; nor does it forbid any person to work as many hours a day or week as he chooses, it merely provides that in any employment which the legislature has evidently deemed to some extent dangerous to health, no person shall be engaged in labor more than ten hours a day and sixty hours a week. There can be no doubt that such legislation may be maintained, either as a health or police regulation, if it were necessary to resort to either of those sources for power. This principle has been so frequently recognized in this commonwealth that reference to the decisions is unnecessary.

" It is also said that the law violates the right of Mary Shirley to labor in accordance with her own judgment as to the number of hours she may work. The obvious and conclusive reply to this is, that the law does not limit her right to labor as many hours per day or per week as she may desire. It merely prohibits her being employed continuously in the same service more than a certain number of hours per day or week." ¹

The present learned chief justice of that state, Mr. Justice Holmes, has also expressed himself in such a manner concerning the right of the state to regulate free contract in the interests of a larger freedom, as to show a clear insight into the underlying principles involved.²

It is natural to expect enlightened decisions on economic questions in Massachusetts, and that for several

¹ In *Commonwealth v. Hamilton Manufacturing Company*, 120 Mass. 385.

² I am pleased to quote from a letter received from Mr. Justice Holmes, with his permission, the following : " In my opinion, econo-

reasons. One is the progressive character of the state, due to general enlightenment; another is the altruistic spirit of the age, which finds such gratifying expression in the Old Bay state, and a third is the fact of its high industrial development, as a result of which it has had to deal for a longer period than other states with those questions growing out of an intensive industrial life. Recently, however, two states, viz., Tennessee and West Virginia, industrially far less developed, have taken a leading position in the regulation of contract in the interests of liberty truly conceived. I refer to the decisions of the courts of these states, sustaining statutes prohibiting the maintenance of truck shops, and also providing for weighing of coal. The courts clearly recognize inequalities in bargaining power, lying back of contract, and they also take the position,—and it is undoubtedly a true one,—that wise legislation of this sort is calculated to prevent industrial strife, disorder and bloodshed, and to maintain the public peace.¹

The august tribunal which holds its session in this city, the Supreme Court of the United States, has also, on broad grounds of public policy, upheld the statute of the state of Utah, which limits the working day for miners in that state to eight hours.² The Supreme Court did not go into the wisdom of this particular statute, and I have no desire to do so on this occasion. It is simply the broad principle of regulation of economic relations in the interests of freedom which is in question. We see the most enlightened courts thus en-

mists and sociologists are the people to whom we ought to turn more than we do for instruction in the grounds and foundations of all rational decisions."

¹ *Harrison v. Knoxville Iron Co.*, 53 S. W. Rep. 955 (Tenn.). *Peel Splint Coal Co. v. State*, 15 S. E. Rep. (W. Va.) 1000.

² *Holden v. Hardy*, 169, U. S. 397.

deavoring to develop the idea of public policy in such a way as to bring contract into conformity with industrial conditions.

It is in the police power that we find the peculiarly flexible element in our legal system, and with written constitutions such as we have it is not easy to see where otherwise it is to be sought. The possibilities of development along the line of the police power cannot be limited. Consequently, there is the possibility of an evolution of our law which shall adapt it to our present and future industrial life, and thus secure industrial liberty. Let us take, for example, the doctrine that free contract presupposes "the will as voluntarily manifested." It is quite evident that this must take from certain agreements the character of a valid contract. An agreement made by pressure due to threats to a man's house cannot be a binding contract. Similarly if I see a millionaire, who is drowning, and offer to save his life, on condition that he turn over to me all his property, no court would sustain this agreement as a binding contract.

But is it not possible in some cases to take into account the pressure of economic needs, for example, the hunger of wife and children? Unquestionably, agreements with wage-earners have been extorted by the severest pressure of hunger. Agreements for usurious rates of interest have also been extorted under the pressure of economic need. Courts have frequently found a way to declare such agreements of no binding force. I cannot enlarge upon this thought, and indeed, have no desire to do more than merely to suggest an important line of evolution in the interests of liberty.

Let us take again the principle that the right to contract must not nullify itself, and it seems that from the

standpoint of liberty, there can be no doubt whatever about this principle. Yet it is easy for contract to abrogate the right of contract. Whenever a man contracts himself into a condition of virtual slavery, this is the case. I have already cited the well-known cases brought before Judge Bennett of South Carolina. Cases have arisen in Germany, under what is called the "competitive clause" of labor contracts. It seems that there it is quite customary to insist upon a contract with an employee, learning a trade or occupation, that he shall not, after he has acquired his knowledge of the business, enter into competition with his employer. Sometimes there is a limitation upon the period or area within which no competition must be attempted, making the clause a fairly reasonable one. Sometimes, however, a lad utterly incompetent to contemplate the remote consequences of his act, and not having five dollars to his name, will agree under a penalty of perhaps several thousand dollars not to enter into competition with his employer during his whole life, or in the entire German empire, and sometimes it is said, not anywhere in the world. When contracts are carefully scrutinized with respect to their impairment, directly or indirectly, of the right to make future contracts, it will be found that many regulations are necessary in the interests of liberty.

Contracting-out as it is now technically called, offers an interesting illustration of the absolute necessity of limitations upon contract in the interests of public policy. It will readily be conceded that private contract must not stand above public policy, and yet through contracting-out of obligations public policy may frequently, and will frequently be subverted. Let us suppose it is determined to be public policy, as it has been determined in Germany and in England, that accidents to employees, unless brought about by wilful act of the employee, shall be regarded as a part of the expenses of manufacturing

plants and agencies of transportation, to be paid for as any other costs of doing business, out of the proceeds of the business. Unless it is rendered impossible for an employee to contract-out of the obligation this wise provision in the interests of a large industrial liberty will be nullified by private contracts. Consequently, we find in the most advanced industrial countries the doctrine established by the statute, or coming to prevail in one way and another, that contracting-out of obligations, established in the interests of public policy, cannot be tolerated.

Another line of development in the interests of industrial liberty must consist in opening up and increasing opportunities for the acquisition of a livelihood by the mass of men, in order that back of contracts there may lie a nearer approximation to equality of strength on the part of the two contracting parties. It is certain that there will be a vast development along this line during the twentieth century, and through this development we shall find liberty expressing itself increasingly through contract.

It is manifest, I think, that philosophical anarchy furnishes us with no ideal. The absence of all social regulations means the unrestricted tyranny of the strong. Plato clearly saw this when he asserted that "the most aggravated forms of tyranny and slavery arise out of the most extreme form of liberty".¹

Mazzini also saw this clearly enough, when he said of liberty: "If you enthrone it alone as means and end, it will lead society first to anarchy, afterward to the despotism which you fear."²

We have not said all, however, that there is to be said concerning the ideal of anarchy when we have pointed

¹ Republic, viii, 564, Jowett's translation, p. 272.

² Mazzini, "Rights and wrongs", Publications of the Christian Social Union, pp. 9-10.

out that it can only mean tyranny and despotism. Liberty cannot be an absolute ideal, because authority is needed in society, in order to secure the harmonious coöperation of its various elements, and without social authority we could have no production of wealth, and we should be without the material basis of that large and positive liberty which enables us to employ our faculties in the common service. This social authority rests, for the most part, upon the great institutions of society—property, vested interests, contract and personal conditions. To only a limited extent is there a direct political basis for the authority whereby one man brings into harmonious coöperation other men, in the work of production. The basis of social authority is, for the most part, institutional.

On the other hand, socialism furnishes us with no sufficient ideal of industrial liberty. Going to the opposite extreme from anarchy, it would find a political basis for that social authority through which the industrial coöperation of men is effected. It would limit the range of free choice, and restrict liberty, although to a less degree than anarchy. The true ideal lies midway between anarchy and socialism, and may be termed the principle of social solidarity. According to this principle, the great institutions of society must be conserved, but developed in the interests of liberty positively conceived. There must be a carefully elaborated, and wisely executed regulation of economic relations.

We are indulging in no Utopian fancies but are simply describing the forces which are everywhere manifesting themselves in the most enlightened nations, and are resulting in an evident increase of the sphere of industrial liberty for the masses of men. It is absurd to say that we must not pass any law in the interests of a single class of men, inasmuch as men exist in classes, and indus-

trial laws to be effective must deal with them as they exist in classes. And, moreover, no class exists for itself. As society becomes real and vital, and means more and more to us all, it becomes apparent that no one class exists for itself, and that no one class can exist apart from all other classes. While there is such a thing as vicious legislation in behalf of a few favored individuals, whatever promotes the interests of any one of the great and numerous classes in society, either in matters physical, mental, moral or spiritual, advances the interests of every other class. "We are members one of another," and "the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you and whether one member suffers, all the members suffer with it: or one member be honored all the members rejoice with it". The apostle Paul gives in these words an expression to a deep principle of modern industrial society, the principle of social solidarity.

I have sketched thus hastily a theory of industrial liberty. What I have said, I would have looked upon as thoughts on industrial liberty, more or less closely connected. I have not even attempted an exhaustive treatment, for which my time is too limited, even had I, as I have not, the wisdom for a complete presentation. I trust, however, that what I have presented is in harmony with industrial evolution and truth. It is something, at any rate, if I have at least made it clear that industrial liberty is a conception having a relative and not an absolute value; that it is to be conceived in a positive rather than in a negative sense; that it is not something which can be decreed off-hand, by any legislative body, but rather that it is a social product, to be achieved by individuals working socially together, and that it comes, not all at once, but slowly as the result of a long continued and arduous process. It is not the beginning of social evolution, but rather one of the goals

of social evolution, and one which must be brought into harmony with other goals, such as equality, also relatively conceived, and fraternity, the only one of the three goals, liberty, equality and fraternity, which can, in any way, be conceived absolutely. We have, then, among others, three goals of industrial evolution—liberty, equality and fraternity—but the greatest of these is fraternity.

MEANING OF THE RECENT EXPANSION OF THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES.

BY BROOKS ADAMS.

MR. PRESIDENT :—Before entering upon my subject I shall ask permission to explain my conception of the scope of economics, else, perhaps, I might seem to wander. I regard economics as the study of competition among men, or as an investigation of that struggle for survival which is the primal cause of wars and revolutions, of the strife of classes, of financial panics, and finally of that steady change which goes on from age to age in the type of populations,—a change occasioned by the elimination of such organisms as are unable to adapt themselves to the demands of an ever varying environment. Hence, in my judgment, economics embraces a large section of the whole field of human knowledge and experience, and the man who would deal with economics exhaustively should have many attainments. He should be an archæologist, and versed in military, political, and religious history, as well as in the history of jurisprudence and of institutions. He should be acquainted with numismatics, with mechanics, and with metallurgy. He should be profound in geography. He should be a linguist. Above all he should be a man of the world, familiar with the care of property, with the stock-market, and with methods of transportation and of administration. I certainly, can lay claim to no such equipment, and it is precisely because I have felt my own deficiencies that I thus estimate the qualifications of him who would succeed. Limited as I am, I attempt only to suggest, my hope

being to interest abler minds in certain phenomena which I deem vital to us all.

I apprehend that an inquiry into the "meaning of the recent expansion of the foreign trade of the United States" opens the gravest of economic problems, for that expansion is, probably, only one amid innumerable effects of a displacement of the focus of human energy. Such displacements have occurred periodically from the dawn of civilization, and of all phases of human development they are, perhaps, those which merit most to rivet our attention, since they have always been preceded by a wave of superb prosperity, and have left decay behind.

Furthermore, as no event is so far reaching as a shifting of the social equilibrium, so none exacts a more practical treatment, for men's weapons in the competition of life range from the mighty army to the pettiest details of the peasant's household. No economy is too small, no waste is too trifling to be neglected, for at each passing moment nature is selecting those organisms which work cheapest, and rejecting those which are costly. Also nature is omnipotent and merciless.

Thus communities rise and fall in proportion to their economy; but I insist that economy varies according to circumstances. Economy is adaptation to the conditions under which men compete, and these conditions are only learned through experience. Every science is based on experience, and we can draw no inferences regarding the future save such as we deduce from the past. Accordingly I submit that our inquiries into a subject such as this should begin at the beginning, no matter how remote that beginning may be.

I assume that we shall agree that the phase of development which we call civilization opened with the smelting

of the metals, for without relatively cheap metals the arts must have remained rudimentary. With metal man makes his sword, his plough, and his money; he also makes the tools with which he builds decked ships, and convenient wheeled vehicles. Evidently tribes adhering to wood or stone brought into contact with those using iron, bronze, or even copper, were destined to be evicted, enslaved or destroyed. They were comparatively wasteful either in war or peace. Hence ages ago the metals became a condition of existence in the more advanced regions of the world, and the position of the mines necessarily exercised a controlling influence over the current of international exchanges.

I propose to illustrate my theory by an examination of the first recorded displacement of energy, a movement which though comparatively simple, may serve as the prototype of all that have followed. I refer to the destruction of Nineveh. Nineveh's bloom lasted from about 1200 B. C. to toward 700 B. C., and Nineveh owed her supremacy not to natural resources, but to her geographical position, as the converging point of the routes leading from northeastern Asia to the Mediterranean. At an epoch when sea-going ships did not exist, and when the Dardanelles were closed, wares from the Punjab, Cashmir, and China, as well as from southern Siberia and Turkestan, could reach the Mediterranean most easily by one of two routes. Having gained Bactra, merchants might follow the highway which yet passes through Teheran, to the head of navigation on the Tigris. This point is now Mossul, and was formerly Nineveh, and from thence several routes led to the different Syrian ports. Secondly, travellers might cross the Caspian and, following the line of the modern railway to Tiflis and Poti, reach Trebizond by boat, whence

the road over which Xenophon marched goes by Lake Van to Nineveh. Of course, staunch ships were unknown at this remote period, and the Greek legends leave no doubt that before the siege of Troy the Black Sea was practically inaccessible. Therefore, in the main, the eastern trade went west by land, and accordingly the chief care of the Ninevite emperors was to police the roads along which this commerce flowed. Hence their endless campaigns both toward Syria and Armenia.

The Phoenician cities served as the outlets of the Mesopotamian empire toward the Mediterranean, and accordingly Tyre and Sidon rose with the rise of Babylon and Nineveh, and fell with their decay. Nor did the Phoenicians themselves prove unequal to their opportunity. They not only found a market for the commodities of the East, but they provided acceptable exchanges. Slaves and metals were the only two European products which Asia would receive in payment for her exports, and of the two the metals were the more important. From the outset the Phoenicians grasped the situation. They laid the basis of their future opulence by developing the copper of Cyprus, and afterward crowned their fortune by discovering the silver and gold of Spain, and the tin of Cornwall.

Meanwhile so long as Greece lay beyond the line of traffic, the Greeks were condemned to poverty. This they understood, and such legends as that of the Minotaur, and of the golden fleece, tell plainly enough of their weakness, and of their aspirations. At last they tried war. They sacked Troy, forced the Dardanelles, penetrated into the Black Sea, and entered on the race for supremacy. Starting from Miletus these adventurers slowly spread along the coast of Asia Minor, and, passing the Bosphorns, planted colonies at all the outlets of

the Bactra trade, their most important stations being Panticapaeum, Phasis, and Trapesus. Thus they opened direct water communication between the Oxus and Gibraltar, by way of Corinth and Syracuse. In consequence the lines of transportation straightened, Nineveh fell into eccentricity, and the chronology tells the rest. By about 700 B. C. the Greeks are supposed to have firmly established themselves throughout the Euxine, and fifty years later the prophet Nahum foretold the destruction of Nineveh. The catastrophe did not lag. Nineveh fell in 606 B. C. and Babylon soon followed. In 538 B. C. Belshazzar read the writing on the wall, and by 500 B. C. a new military race reigned in Chaldea. Nevertheless revolution brought no cure, for the disease which wasted Mesopotamia was inanition caused by the diversion of her trade. Accordingly Darius had hardly mounted the Babylonian throne before he planned the annihilation of his successful rival. The Persian invasion of Hellas began with the battle of Marathon in 490, and ended with Platea in 479 B. C. From that defeat Persia never rallied. By 400 B. C. she had rotted to the core, and Xenophon on his march to Trebizond found nothing to oppose him. In 330 the end came with the slaughter of Darius and the triumph of Alexander. Toward 450 B. C. Athens, nourished by the mines of Laurium, reached her zenith, while the superb coinage of Syracuse indicates that this wonderful metropolis of international exchanges culminated contemporaneously.

The inference is that during the Persian wars the world's centre of energy moved from Mesopotamia to the Ionian Sea, and that the consolidation which there took place served as the basis of the economic system which subsequently sustained the Roman empire. This

example of a change of social equilibrium is valuable because of its simplicity. It can be readily analyzed because ancient exchanges were comparatively rudimentary. The West had little beyond its metals. The East possessed the rest. During the Roman period manufactures never passed the Adriatic; in agriculture Egypt undersold even Sicily, while Arabia, India and China supplied spices, silk and gems. Europeans had, therefore, to maintain the balance of exchanges with gold, silver, copper and the like, and, as the Romans were not inventive and hardly improved on the Phœnician methods of mining, the waste was prodigious. Moreover, the Romans met defeat in their attempt to open up Germany. Hence while the demand for metal increased, the supply diminished; therefore, the empire had hardly been organized before it began to spend its capital. And as it could neither extend its source of supply, nor meet eastern competition, it became bankrupt when the mines of Spain failed.

These facts suggest inferences which may aid us in interpreting the phenomena of the present time. First: the evidence tends to show that at a remote antiquity the need of metal stimulated men to explore toward the West. In the West they found what they sought. Hence civilization has spread westward. Second: as the source of metallic supply has receded the diameter of the economic system has enlarged, and as the diameter of the circle has enlarged, the centre has been displaced. By such movements the stability of the social equilibrium has been shaken. Third: the social equilibrium has been disturbed, because, as the centre of the economic system has moved, the trade routes have changed to correspond, and the ancient capitals have been thrown into eccentricity. This signifies ruin for the city, and an-

nihilation for the population. Lastly: it seems clear that war is as essentially an instrument of commercial competition, as is trade itself; that, indeed, war is only commercial competition in its intensest form. All the facts point to the conclusion that war is regularly kindled by the heat engendered by the impact upon an established economic system of a system which is consolidating. Hence the outbreak of war at certain stages of development must be regarded as a usual, if not an invariable phenomenon.

To trace in detail the rise of England is impossible. It must suffice to say that during the middle ages the financial metropolis lay in northern Italy, as in a remote antiquity it had lain in Mesopotamia. This equilibrium lasted until the inflow of gold and silver from Mexico and Peru projected the centre of exchanges westward, much as the inflow of the Spanish metals had projected it two thousand years before. Also during the 16th century England laid the basis of her future fortune by robbing Spanish treasure, and when Spain retaliated as Persia had done, the Armada met a defeat as decisive as Xerxes met at Salamis. Thenceforward the current flowed north, and when Great Britain emerged from her conflict with her chief rival in 1815, she held an economic supremacy more absolute than that of Rome. The British supremacy surpassed the Roman because resting on broader foundations. England not only served as the world's distributing point like Nineveh, as the world's carrier and explorer like Phoenicia and as the world's banker like Rome, but her supply of useful metals gave her a substantial monopoly of manufacturing during two generations. Instead of being drained by the East, she undersold India. Lastly down to 1845 English agriculture nearly sufficed for the

wants of the English people. Roman agriculture failed after the Punic wars.

No such favorable combination of conditions had previously existed, and an equilibrium so stable defied attack until shaken by the series of events which propelled the United States along the path which must presently end in her supremacy or her ruin. The first link in this chain of cause and effect was the discovery of gold in California in 1848, and upon that discovery has, perhaps, hinged the destiny of modern civilization. A few figures may explain this proposition. Prior to 1848 not only had the United States been a poor country, but she had been a country whose advance had not been very rapid. She had indeed contended with overwhelming difficulties. Her mass outweighed her energy and her capital. Confronted with immense distances, and hindered from comprehensive methods of transportation by poverty, she could not compete with a narrow and indented peninsula like Europe. The change wrought in these conditions by the influx of gold was magical.

In the three years 1800-1802 the imports averaged-----	\$ 93,000,000
“ “ “ “ 1848-1850 “ “ “ -----	154,000,000
“ “ “ “ 1858-1860 “ “ “ -----	316,000,000

That is to say there was an increase of 66 per cent. in half a century, and of over 100 per cent. in a decade.

Exports during 1800-1802 averaged-----	\$ 78,000,000
“ “ 1848-1850 “ -----	140,000,000
“ “ 1858-1860 “ -----	299,000,000

A ratio of growth of 80 per cent. in fifty years, as against upwards of 100 per cent. in ten.

Iron was equally remarkable. In 1847 the exports of iron and steel stood at \$929,000, in 1858 they had quintupled, reaching \$4,884,000; while the authorities hold that the modern era of iron making opened in 1855.

But, perhaps, the most impressive of these phenomena was the accumulation of capital. In 1848 the total deposits in the savings banks amounted to \$33,087,488, an average per capita of \$1.52. In 1860 they reached \$149,277,504, an average per capita of \$4.75. This corresponds pretty well with the growth in purchasing power consequent on the yield of the mines. Between 1792 and 1847 the annual production of gold and silver had been less than \$500,000; in 1848 it passed \$10,000,000 and in 1850, \$50,000,000.

The stimulus proved decisive. As America was organized in 1848, all bulky commodities lying in the interior, away from navigable waterways, were unavailable, but gold and silver could be transported and sold. They were sold, and from their sale came both capital and credit. A comprehensive railroad system was thereafter attainable. The United States realized her opportunity and strained her means to the uttermost, but she did not anticipate the attack which awaited her, and the destiny of two continents has, apparently, hinged upon the catastrophe which accompanied the liquidation of the debt which she contracted to develop her latent resources.

In 1873 Europe refused to receive silver which then represented to the United States a cash asset of upward of \$35,000,000 annually. At the same time a fall in prices set in which reduced the value of wheat and cotton alarmingly. Ruin seemed impending, but the result of that convulsion has not met the anticipations of America's rivals. The United States suffered keenly for years, it is true, but she proved herself equal to the emergency. It has not been the debtor, but the creditor who has ultimately collapsed. What happened is nearly a reproduction of the decline of Nineveh.

Under the stress of competition the centre of metallic production has been projected westward, the seat of commercial exchanges has followed, the trade routes are straightening, London is falling into eccentricity, and Europe is being undersold. Approached from this standpoint the process stands out with the logical precision of a natural law.

When, in 1873, America's creditors rejected her silver, she had to sell her other commodities to them at what prices they would fetch, and the chief of these were farm products. It happened, however, that freights fell proportionately to other prices, and this fall in freight made the shrinkage in the worth of wheat more sensible in London than in Chicago, by the difference between the old and the new cost of transportation across the Atlantic. English farmers could not cope with the situation and presently land began to go out of cultivation. Then rents broke, and soon the aristocratic classes stood on the brink of insolvency. To save encumbered real estate, personal property had to be sold, and the best property the British owned was American securities. These accordingly they sacrificed, at first hesitatingly, then more freely, and at last in masses, until they exhausted the supply. Afterward they borrowed.

America, happily, can now afford to lend, but when first called upon to liquidate in haste, American society shook to its base. Deprived at once of her silver, and of much of the value of her other merchandise, the United States had to meet the deficiency with gold. Accordingly gold flowed eastward. In the single year 1893 the United States exported, on balance, \$87,000,000, a sum probably larger than any community has been forced to part with under similar conditions. Such a pressure could not continue. The crisis had to end in

either insolvency or relief, and relief came through an exertion of energy, perhaps without a parallel.

In three years America reorganized her whole social system by a process of consolidation, the result of which has been the so-called trust. But the trust, in reality, is the highest type of administrative efficiency, and therefore of economy, which has, as yet, been attained. By means of this consolidation the American people were enabled to utilize their mines to the full; the centres of mineral production and of exchanges were forced westward, and the well known symptoms supervened. The first of these symptoms was war. The peculiarity of the present movement is its rapidity and intensity, and this appears to be due to the amount of energy developed in the United States, in proportion to the energy developed elsewhere. The shock of the impact of the new power seems overwhelming.

Only four years ago, in March, 1897, America completed her reorganization, for in that month the great consolidations at Pittsburg first undersold Europe in steel. Immediately Spain and China disintegrated, England entered on a phase of decay corresponding pretty exactly to that which Spain passed through under Philip II, Germany sought relief by attacking China and attempting to absorb her mines, while Russia collapsed. The reason for these catastrophes apparently is that no nation so suddenly ever attained to such a commanding position as the United States now holds, because no nation ever succeeded in so short a time in developing such resources so cheaply. In truth the United States lying between two continents with ports on either ocean connected by the most perfect of railroads, without mountains to make transportation costly, as in Asia, with the great lakes penetrating the interior,

with unlimited gold and silver, iron, coal and copper, with a fertile soil and an enterprising population, and with the whole social system, including industry, transportation and farming, administered with a precision elsewhere undreamed of, enjoys not the advantages of Nineveh or Syracuse, of Rome, of Lombardy, or of England separately, but of all of these combined, and her attack is proportionately cogent. Hence the centre of gravity of human society is shifting very rapidly, the seat of mineral production and of commercial exchanges is migrating westward, the lines of transportation are straightening to correspond, and London is ceasing to be the universal mart. A glance at the charts showing the course of ocean steamers during the past twenty years will indicate the direction of trade.

As with Nineveh, so with London. As the volume of American exports has grown, so has the tide of exchanges set more decisively against Great Britain until her people have literally eaten up the accumulations they once possessed in America. Her accumulations depleted, she now lives by borrowing. Well informed authorities in Lombard Street estimate that during the past summer \$400,000,000 of French cash have been in constant use to maintain the balance of the Bank of England and to float the public loans. All admit that the London money market is completely dominated by French bankers. Certainly English shipping retains its relative importance, but its actual profits are problematical, if not to owners, at least to the nation at large. British vessels habitually obtain outward cargoes of coal, and homeward cargoes of provisions or ore. The *Economist* has calculated that 40 per cent. of the coal nominally exported goes to coaling stations and is sold to English seamen. Its price, therefore, becomes an

item of freight, and is paid by the purchaser of the merchandise transported. If that merchandise happens to be ore or provisions it is paid by Englishmen, and is dead loss. The British iron mines are failing, the copper mines have failed; therefore ores have to be carried to England. The British fields no longer yield food, therefore Great Britain has to pay Americans to feed her, and pay for the transport of what they have to buy. Meanwhile the British spend upon the basis of the lavish profits of old, even when the profits are gone, and hence comes that drain of gold which once prostrated Rome, and afterward desolated Spain, and which has always lead to pillage. When Philip resolved to crush the Netherlands, Alva boasted that he would make treasure flow from Flanders in a stream a yard deep, and the policy of Philip toward the Dutch was nearly parallel to the policy of Lord Salisbury's cabinet toward South Africa. It is superfluous to observe that with Spain and England alike the speculation failed through lack of military energy.

Germany also has been perturbed. Years ago Germany was organized to meet English competition, and while England regulated the pace Germany paid a dividend on her investments. When American trusts entered the field this profit disappeared, and Germans now comprehend that they must adjust their whole system of agriculture, industry and transportation to a new standard. Furthermore, conceding this to be done, success is problematical, for Germany can never match her bulk against the bulk of the United States, or her mines against American mines. She must always buy her raw material. Also Germany must face the destruction of her beet sugar industry through the loss of the American market by Cuban competition.

Russia has, however, suffered most, for her unwieldy shape and ill-situated ports make her transportation costly, and beside her population is hopelessly archaic and therefore wasteful. Administration is the last and highest product of civilization; a primitive community is primitive, precisely because it lacks the administrative faculty. It is the old struggle between the Stone Age, and the metals. Were the Elizabethans resuscitated and made to compete with us they would assuredly starve; and Russians starve. The vice begins at the base. The communal land-tenure still prevails. That tenure indicates an intellectual development more than three centuries behind the American, and accordingly communal land is supplemented by an appropriate civil service. The payment to officials of fixed salaries instead of fees, is an advanced economic conception. The primitive man holds it to be cheaper for each individual to pay for the service he needs, as citizens now pay doctors or lawyers. The fee system even yet lurks in America. All primitive societies, however, prefer fees, hence the official does not work unless he is paid. Fees breed delay, waste and peculation. So it is that all Russian undertakings are excessively wasteful, and this explains why the Siberian Railway, for example, should have cost two or three times the estimates, and when finished need rebuilding. The industries are in a like plight. The Russians have never yet succeeded in working their gold to a profit, much less their manufactures. Not being rich or mechanical the Russians have had to induce strangers to organize their plants, and, as there is no private demand for steel, they have offered as an inducement a protective tariff and state contracts at high prices. But to pay for the steel thus produced, the government has had to borrow, and the price

has gone abroad as dividends. Then more money is needed to keep the works employed, and more loans are made, and when loans cannot be negotiated insolvency supervenes. In Paris they estimate that Frenchmen have this year lost upwards of \$150,000,000 in a crisis which borrowing may alleviate but cannot cure. Finally the burden falls upon the peasant, who has nothing but his grain. These unhappy beings without money to buy machinery, or intelligence to use it, without railways, or tolerable roads, without even the stimulus which comes from sole ownership of the land they till, ground down by taxes and subject to military service, are made to compete with the capitalistic system of Dakota, the machinery and energy of Nebraska, and the Pennsylvania Railroad. The conclusion is foregone. They perish by thousands from inanition. This year the London papers announce that Russian competition with American grain has substantially ceased.

These symptoms of energy at home and of collapse abroad point to a readjustment of the social equilibrium on an unprecedented scale. Unless all experience is to be reversed the ferocity of the struggle for survival must deepen until one of the two competing economic systems is destroyed. Were all other signs wanting we can see the shadow of the approaching crisis in the failure of the purchasing power of Europe which is reflected in our declining exports, and in the threats of retaliation which we daily hear.

Supposing the United States to push her advantages home, and drive her rivals to extremity, she appears to lie open to two methods of attack. European nations singly or in combination may attempt commercial exclusion somewhat on the principle on which Napoleon acted against England; or they may adopt a policy

which will lead to war, such for example as disregarding the Monroe doctrine. In case of war the United States is vulnerable through her communications. Like all centres of international exchanges the United States must preserve her outlets open else she will suffocate, and these outlets now embrace both oceans. On the same principle the kings of Nineveh, for centuries, waged ceaseless war against the Syrians and Egyptians on the west, and the Armenians on the north, to control the roads to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

Such is the first method of attack. The second is by opening regions which shall be to America what America has already been to Europe, to force mineral production once more westward. I forbear to enter upon a discussion of northern China. Those who are interested in the provinces of Shansi and Honan may find full details in Richthoven's work. This much, however, is clear. If such a people as the Germans could subdue those provinces, police them, organize them on the American basis, with labor trained and directed by Europeans versed in the American system, there seems to be no reason why America should not be undersold. The region is not unduly large, or distant from the sea, or costly to develop, or unhealthy, while its coal and iron are unparalleled in value. The problem of future civilization, therefore, promises rather to turn upon the capacity of Europeans to partition and reorganize China, and upon the attitude which the United States may assume toward the experiment, than upon natural physical difficulties.

Here then, I apprehend, lies the field of usefulness for modern economics. These complex questions involving peace and war, prosperity and ruin, are the profoundest which can absorb the mind. On them hinges

the existence both of individuals and nations. If economics, dealing with such questions in the light of the past, can in some degree illuminate the future, economists will not have toiled in vain.

We are debating no scholastic issue, but the burning topic of all time. Every rising power has been beset by opponents whom fear and greed have incited to destroy her, and the landmarks of history are the battles which have decided this struggle for survival. Think of the siege of Troy, of Marathon, of Arbela, and of Zama. Think of the sacks of Constantinople and of Antwerp; think of the Armada, of Blenheim, of Trafalgar and of Manila. On each day hung the fate of empires and of millions of men and women. From the dawn of time to yesterday, experience has but one lesson to teach us, the lesson that the conflagration kindled by the shock of two rival economic systems has uniformly been quenched in blood.

Economics can have no aim so high as to strive to shield our country from this ancient destiny by marking the path toward danger. Peril exists not for the sagacious and strong, but only for the feeble and the rash. If we would prosper we must be cautious and be armed. We must be willing alike to yield and to strike. If we cannot make ourselves beloved, at least by concessions we can make it profitable to live with us in peace. On the other hand by preparation we can cause all to fear us, and guard against attack. The prudent man will never fight unless in the last extremity, but if he must he will take care that victory shall be sure.

DISCUSSION.

GEORGE E. ROBERTS: The rise of the United States as an industrial power is a new demonstration that the most important factors in the industrial progress of a country are found in the intellectual and moral characteristics of its people. It has been demonstrated here anew that the secret of industrial prowess is in efficient methods. It is not in long hours of labor, or in habits of economy, or in having a docile, disciplined, but inert population. It is not the cost of labor per day, but per unit of product, that determines industrial superiority. The highest productive capacity is found in those who have energy and fertility of mind, who are most alert and enterprising, who, instead of being bound by custom and tradition, have the impulse to inquire, to contrive and initiate. Such capacity requires individuality in a population, the habit of independent and responsible action; it requires the inspiration of hope and opportunity. Probably there has never been a population on the globe that was equal in these qualities to the people who inhabit the United States. They are an amalgamation of the most vigorous nationalities of the world, brought about by the emigration of the most enterprising individuals of each, that movement in itself, with all it involves, being the most stirring to which human nature could be subjected. They come with their minds awakened and receptive, conservatism and tradition broken down by the act of coming, hope and courage stimulating every faculty. The possibilities offered by this country, the prizes within the reach of all and being daily won, have a most stimulating influence. The

restlessness of our people is the restlessness of those who see their fellows succeed and are impatient to succeed themselves. Every unit in the fermenting mass is an independent and potent factor. Our form of government cultivates this individuality. It identifies and dignifies, and gives responsibility to every man. De Tocqueville declared that he had no doubt that the democratic institutions of this country contributed to the prodigious commercial activity of its inhabitants. A distinguished German writer says that the Americans have a quality of daring, of unrest, of assertiveness, of unexpectedness in action. An English trade journal explains our industrial progress as due to the restless energy and strong inventive genius of the American people. The *London Times* says, "the threatened competition [from the United States] in markets hitherto our own, comes from efficiency in production such as has never before been seen."

The industrial supremacy of England, so long maintained, has doubtless been due to the same mental energy, individual independence, and originality. And so we may trace the industrial rise of Germany since 1870, in some degree at least, to the mental stimulus given by her tremendous effort against France, her victory and the consciousness of an enlarged national life. Such an awakening makes a people fruitful in every field of effort. No people who are simply patient, imitative and industrious, but without this intellectual life and energy, no people who are conservative rather than enterprising, can equal the people of the United States in productive capacity. They will fail to do it even with capable leadership. Japan has had a marvelous awakening, has a government not lacking in enterprise or ability, and her people are alert and receptive ;

but the fear of Japanese competition often expressed a few years ago has passed away. The attempt to use Chinese labor in cotton factories in China has not been successful. They have not inherited the faculty of adaptability. They will learn, but by the time they learn, the methods will be obsolete. A people who depend for advancement upon imported leaders can never keep pace with a people who are themselves fertile of leaders.

The people of the United States occupy a most fortunate and enviable position at this time. No other country has its population so completely equipped with labor-saving tools and machinery, or has such industrial efficiency, man for man. No other people who approach us in industrial efficiency has such a wealth of natural resources at their command. Mr. Carnegie says that the nation which makes the cheapest steel has other nations at its feet in most branches of manufacturing, and our supremacy in this industry seems to be established.

We have scarcely come to a full appreciation of our new situation, and of the modifications in our policies which it evidently requires. We have been intent upon the development of these natural resources which our people have recognized as the basis of future supremacy. We have encouraged the transplanting of industries, and made what temporary sacrifices were necessary to that end. We have diversified the occupations of our people that every aptitude and talent may have employment, and have had the satisfaction of seeing their genius contribute to the advancement of industry the world over. Our policy in this respect has been one instinctive to a vigorous people, conscious of great latent resources. But there is a danger that we may carry this spirit and

policy of independence to a point where it will mean isolation, a suppression of intercourse with other peoples at the very time when we can profit most by intercourse. There is a disposition to regard all that we may buy abroad as representing money lost. We are told that we pay so many millions for a given article of commerce, and the conclusion is easily reached that we ought to produce it at home. This may or may not be profitable. It depends upon what else we have to do. It does not pay a man who can earn four dollars per day to divert his energies to work worth one dollar per day. The professional man and the mechanical expert do not dig their own ditches. The people of the United States are high grade workers. The industrial efficiency to which they have attained is such that they cannot afford to do all their own work, or to be shut up to live within and upon themselves, if they can help it. Thus confined, they would lose the advantages which high grade capacity and extraordinary resources secure in the exchanges. What we want is to do the world's best paid work, to enlarge the markets for the industries which yield us the most profit and in which there are the largest possibilities to establish ourselves in the same profitable position in the exchanges of the world that the most skillful, intelligent and resourceful individuals always hold in the exchanges of a local community.

We are all eager to sell, to find foreign customers, but we need to ponder the wise counsel of our lamented President, that we cannot sell everything and buy little or nothing. We cannot do all the work of the world. Other people must have industries, must prosper, or they certainly cannot buy from us. During the three years which ended June 30th last, the excess of our merchandise exports over imports amounted to \$1,739,499,252, a sum

which exceeds the present stock of gold in all the banks of Europe. It is manifestly impossible to collect such balances in money. To attempt it would be to occasion financial disturbances that would react upon us, and do us vastly more harm than any scheme of reciprocal trade possibly could, with all allowance to the fears of those who oppose such a policy.

The inhabitants of the tropics have their industries, limited in number, upon which their prosperity and progress depend. If these industries be developed, these people will be utilized in the economy of the world; they will rise in the scale of civilization and become buyers and consumers of manufactured goods. If the industries upon which they depend for employment be crushed, if their products be refused a market, these countries will be sealed up to barbarism, their populations denied a sphere of usefulness, and we shall have to withdraw labor from more remunerative employment to do their work.

The recent expansion of our exports is based upon elements of superiority that will endure; but that superiority will avail little unless our relations with other peoples are those of comity and reciprocity. Two policies are open for us to pursue. One is the policy of isolation and exclusion, the policy of doing all our own work, and of being confined to our own work and markets. It is a policy that will sacrifice our advantages. It is inconsistent with the genius and ambitions of our people. The other policy is that of fair trade, of amicable arrangements with others, which, while pressing our products into foreign markets, will recognize the fundamental truth that every country must employ its people in some manner, and that, if we are to supply their wants in some line, they must divert their labor into

other lines. It is impossible wholly to suppress the energies of a people, at least to suppress them and have that people remain a factor in the commercial world. If restricted in one direction, they must expand in another. Hence no plan for the expansion of our foreign trade can be successful that does not allow for the development and prosperity of our foreign customers.

By education and technical training and by the peculiar aptitude of our people, we may hope to secure industrial supremacy in the sense of commanding the most advanced and progressive industries ; we may hope to enjoy the legitimate advantages of superior productive capacity ; but we must concede to everybody some place in the world of industry, either a section of the earth from which we are wholly excluded, or a share in the exchanges,—and we must seek for permanent trade abroad through policies that contemplate the harmonious advancement of all mankind.

CHARLES A. CONANT: The address of Mr. Brooks Adams is so interesting, both in matter and manner—and gives such a dazzling panoramic vision of the movement of world history—that it requires some courage to contest any of his broad conclusions. With many of these conclusions I am in agreement. The struggle among the nations for commercial supremacy is a reality which has grown more stern as the struggle has become more intense with the improvement of machinery, the increase in the mass of capital seeking investment, and the contest even for remote islands and pestilential marshes under the equator in the national hunger for land and competitive opportunities.

I think that Mr. Adams, however, gives too great an importance to the part played by money and the pre-

cious metals among the forces contributing to national greatness. According to my view of these problems, the ebb and flow of the precious metals is a consequence and not a cause of national prosperity. To inquire where gold has been plentiful, and hence to argue that gold has been the cause of prosperity, is putting the cart before the horse. Undoubtedly a great commercial nation needs the precious metals for carrying on her exchanges, and would be more or less paralyzed without them. But producing power brings gold, while the possession of mines does not imply the power to retain it. The vital element in national greatness is the capacity to produce goods with economy. When a nation solves this problem of economical production, it may snap its fingers in the faces of its competitors. It draws their gold into its exchequer, in spite of every artificial device which they may employ to hold it. Silver and gold may be a valuable asset in themselves, as they were for our country when the mines of California were opened, and as they were for Australia in contributing to her great development. But the mere possession of mines of gold and silver is a minor element in the struggle for national power. This is proved clearly enough by one of Mr. Adams's own illustrations. Spain was the possessor of the riches of Mexico and Peru, but she could not hold them long against the seductive power of English manufacturing and agricultural energy. The goods and commercial policy of England, though scarcely an ounce of gold or silver has in modern times come from her mines, drew away the gold of Spain, as if by a magnet, three centuries ago, and have continued to attract to London the gold of the world through the centuries which have followed.

It has been said that "gold is a coward." This is

true so far as it implies that gold follows the shining path of commercial success. The true magnet which draws gold into any country is the possession of capital. Capital is much more effective in the form of manufacturing machinery, railways and steamship lines, than in the form of the precious metals. In these efficient forms capital commands the precious metals and draws them from the hands of the most persistent misers. The capacity for economical production is a vastly better heritage for any people than a mountain of silver or a river whose bed shines with gold. This capacity for producing goods at the lowest cost is not the result merely of a low scale of wages. Rather is it due to a high scale of efficiency. Yet it is not the result of individual efficiency alone, although that is most important, but of capacity for organization, invention and the combining of the factors of production.

Fortunately these powers seem to have reached their culmination to-day in the Anglo-Saxon race and pre-eminently among the people of the United States. Through farming on a large scale, through railway combinations which stagger the world by their immensity, through the consolidation of banks, through the elimination of weak manufacturing concerns, and the concentration of the highest efficiency in modern machinery, the average producing power of the American people has become greater than that of any other. As a consequence they are beginning to undersell all other peoples in the markets of the world. These things might be true as the result of the organizing capacity of a few minds, even if the productive capacity of the ordinary worker were the same in America as in Germany, and the same in Germany as in Japan or the Philippines. When, however, to this great capacity for organization

is added a higher individual intelligence among the workers, with a resulting increase of capacity to accomplish results, and a higher standard of well-being, increasing both physical and intellectual power, it is obvious that under existing conditions America is capable of all with which she has been credited by the previous speaker and of a continuing series of triumphs in time to come.

It is truly the function of modern economics, as Mr. Adams contends, to seek out the causes of national greatness and endeavor to teach them to coming generations. In a broad sense, however, it is doubtful if the recipe for perpetual life will ever be found for nations any more than for individuals. Birth, youth, vigorous manhood, and then decay have marked the history of all the great states of antiquity, and in spite of occasional eccentricities seem in our own day to be pursuing the same round. If the movement of national life from the beginnings up to the zenith of achievement and then downward into the abyss of despair are less clearly marked than in antiquity, it is partly because the close communion of all parts of the earth enables a dying nation to absorb a little of the energy of modern life from her vigorous competitors. Within recent times we have witnessed the regeneration of Japan from a civilization long petrified and and dying; we have seen Algeria and Egypt lifted from the coffin of mediaeval barbarism and breathing the breath of modern life, we are witnessing proposals to give a new birth to the moribund empire of China.

We should guard ourselves against the confident belief that our future is secure in the audacious spirit and inventive genius of our captains of industry. National prosperity has often been sapped at the roots by events

having but a remote connection with national character. The change in routes of trade has isolated communities which were once the focus of the world's exchanges. The environment which was favorable to economic progress under one set of conditions has failed under a new set of conditions. It was once the countries with an extended and sinuous coast line, offering many inlets and landing places, which were most fortunately placed for the control of trade. With the construction of railways, great interior areas were suddenly thrown open to commerce, changing coast lines and rivers into subordinate factors and making possible the dominance of the Dakotas and of Siberia as producers of the world's food supplies. Steam power on the ocean worked its revolution, and electricity promises to work new revolutions in its turn. Some invention yet beyond our power of comprehension may destroy the value of every dock at Liverpool or New York, or make waste iron of the world's four hundred thousand miles of rail. Against such conditions even national energy may struggle in vain, if out of the logic of events the new inventions do not spring from the brain and hand of the energetic and governing race.

For the present, and probably for several generations to come, the Anglo-Saxon peoples are the masters of energy, the inventive genius, the power of organization and combination of the world. To them is committed the great trust of teaching to the younger races the civilization which has been built up through the seven centuries of English free speaking and unfettered thinking since Magna Charta, through even the twenty-five centuries which link modern civilization with the arts of Greece and Rome. It seems to me a singularly narrow conception of the duties of our race which desires to put

aside this leadership, great as are its burdens, and shut ourselves up to a sort of insular vegetation at home. The conditions of the modern world do not permit the realization of such a dream. New markets must be found for our surplus products, new openings must be found for the great capital which we desire rather to convert into permanent sources of wealth than to consume as it is produced.

To one who has had a glimpse of Oriental life, as has been my privilege in the last few months, the absolute necessity of Caucasian leadership, and the vital part which is played in that leadership by Great Britain and America, stand out among the essential lessons of our time. Great opportunities are opening for American enterprise and capital in the Philippines, and are likely to open soon in China. Untold wealth lies there in agricultural products, the raw materials of manufacture, investment opportunities, in mines of copper, coal and gold. If little has yet been accomplished in extending our trade in our own possessions, it is because there has been time only for the work of preparation. When Congress has passed proper laws, permitting capital to be invested under beneficial conditions in the East, the Philippines, so long the victims of the inertia and oppression of one of the dying races, will blossom into one of the garden spots of the world. The common use in the Orient of American money, which is known everywhere as gold, since it is exchangeable for gold, the reign of American law at Manila, the inquiries there of American capitalists planning great enterprises for the employment of the people and the improvement of the country; the predominant use of the English tongue in all the marts of trade, and the appearance of the American flag on our cruisers and transports in Japanese and Chinese

ports, have opened the sleepy eyes of the East to the dominance of a new power. To the more thoughtful of the Eastern peoples, this dominance of our race, with all that it brings of the world's energy and knowledge, although it may wound their pride of blood, is the promise and the fulfilment of all the best that is attainable from modern civilization, conferring blessings alike on those who bring and on those who receive the new gospel of our high political aims and our irresistible economic power.

HENRY P. WILLIS: I suppose that we have all felt a good deal of pride in hearing about the atmosphere of industrial prosperity in which the people of the United States are now living, and that we experience a good deal of satisfaction in our ability to shut out the foreigner, or at all events leave few chances open to him. Yet I suppose there are some who are glad that, as one of the speakers was kind enough to suggest, the foreigner may yet have an opportunity of doing the cheaper work after the United States has selected the best tid-bits, and has received a suitable remuneration. I think the main reliance in this speaker's argument was the notion of the balance of trade, and in that connection he made considerable use of the statement that has been going the rounds in the press in the past few months about the enormous balance now owing to the United States by Europe. The balance, however, seems to be a vanishing quantity. One who has had exceptional opportunities for looking into the conditions in Europe—I refer to Mr. Vanderlip,—publishes in the current number of a well-known magazine an article in which he gives this information. He says there is no such balance, for after inquiring in the financial centers of

Europe he found no bankers who were willing to admit that there were large balances owing to the United States at the present time. In showing how it is that this notion of a trade-balance has arisen, he points out that a great deal of the alleged balance is due to the under-valuation of goods which are brought to this country, and which for obvious reasons are not stated at their true and market value. In various other ways, he finally argues the whole thing out of existence, and thus disproves the statements which depend upon it for support. Perhaps it would be well to bear this matter in mind when estimating the chances that the foreigner has in competing with the victorious people of the United States. It seems to me that, after all, the whole discussion of the beneficial or injurious effect of a balance of trade is one that might well be sent to join the controversy over the relations of creditor and debtor nations in the historical lumber room.

EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN: I want to add only a word to the discussion. I think the Association is very much indebted to Mr. Adams for the admirable way in which he has called attention to the elementary forces that are instrumental in the shaping of social destinies. I agree, however, with one of the critics in believing that Mr. Adams has exaggerated that particular phase of the subject resulting in the statement that prosperity is due to the abundance or scarcity of the precious metals.

MR. ADAMS: I beg your pardon. What I said was: The metals in general—all metals—no one particular case.

MR. SELIGMAN: I am very glad to be corrected. I fear, however, that even with this explanation Mr.

Adams will not meet with universal approval in his discussion of the period following the gold discoveries of 1848. There is no doubt that the discoveries of the gold mines in California had a most tremendous influence upon our whole prosperity, but we must not forget that at the same time there were other forces which in my opinion exerted even a greater influence. It was just at that time, at the close of the forties, and beginning of the fifties, that in the United States settlers reached the Mississippi valley, and there was thus opened up the immense productive force of a region with the fruitfulness of which nothing in the world's history has been comparable. It was, therefore, not alone the discovery of gold that caused our prosperity, but it was also the immense impetus given to the production of the supply of wheat which enabled us to become an exporter of food products rather than an exporter of gold. Moreover, there is still another point; for at this period there was a fortunate concurrence of events which took place in Europe whereby for the first time a market opened itself to us for our cereals. It was, in fact, not so much the discovery of gold, as the reaching of the Mississippi valley which has completely changed the whole theory of government of the United States. From that time dates the rise of private corporations on a large scale; from that time dates the remarkable change which has come about in the theory and practice of the industrial relations of the individual to the state. It was not gold that was responsible for this.

There is one other thought which I should like to present to the Association, and that is the thought that because in past ages nations have been like individuals—have had their infancy, their maturity and their de-

cay—it does not follow that such is to be the case in the future. It is, indeed, a fact that up to within a very recent time all prosperity was very largely due, as Mr. Adams has so lucidly and admirably shown, to the shifting conditions of trade routes. But the conditions which made all prosperity depend upon commercial advantages are now passing away. What ever may be said of Karl Marx in other respects, it is undoubtedly true that he for the first time laid his finger on the point of real difference between ancient and modern civilization. Marx pointed out that so far as capital existed as a typical category in the nations of classic antiquity, it was primarily commercial capital. Whatever may have been his mistakes in other respects, he was entirely correct in the assertion that capital, in the sense of industrial capital, is essentially of modern birth, and above all the result of the last few centuries. It is only at the present time that we are beginning to see the results of the harnessing of nature to science. It is only now that we are on the very threshold of that immense development in the field of production, due to the utilization by men of the forces of nature to an extent such as never existed before. What does this mean? It means that science is not national. Science cannot be monopolized. The science of the future, and, therefore, the productivity of the future, is not to be the province of any one nation. It is to be the common possession of all those nations which attain civilization, and which acquire those mental and moral qualities that will enable them to make use of these great gifts.

It follows from this that my dream of the future is a very different one from that of Mr. Adams, and even from that of some of the other speakers. I do not believe that a careful reading of the development of the

last few decades, or the last few centuries, leads us to the conclusion that the economic supremacy of the future is to be bound up with any one nation. If that were so, we should despair of the future of the human race. The time is soon coming when all productive opportunities, so far as they rest upon the land and natural resources, will be entirely seized. There will be no new lands, no fresh lands, as has hitherto been the case. Rome, Greece and Babylon—all the rest of them—went down before the new comer, who rushed down upon the old country alive with all the vigor of a young and sturdy race. Very soon there will no longer be any possibility of a new comer, because the whole world will be partitioned up among the few huge empires, each of these impressing its own civilization upon the world. The world of the future, with its mastery of science, is large enough for the existence, not of one great nation, but of a half a dozen great world empires.

That outlook I think is bound to change our views, not alone of the economic future, but of the whole ethical and spiritual future of the world. It does not mean that England is necessarily going down because we are going up. That was a historical mistake of one of the speakers.

I should like to call attention to the fact that when Spain decayed, it was not England, but the Netherlands that attained the mastery of the seas. During the seventeenth century the Netherlands were the great industrial nation of Europe, because it was primarily in the Netherlands that the power of industrial capital first made itself felt, for reasons upon which I need not now enlarge. It is true that England gradually won the supremacy from the Netherlands, but as England went up, the Netherlands did not go down. The Netherlands

have remained from that time to this an industrial community of great force and prosperity in every respect. The reason that they have not played a greater role in the world's history is simply because of the small territorial basis on which their prosperity was erected ; but the Netherlands of to-day are still rich and prosperous. Now, as I take it, the England of the future is to be in a large way what the Netherlands have been during the last two centuries in a small way. England will remain rich, and its capitalists, like those of Holland, to-day, will be receiving their dividends from funds invested in every part of the world. England will, indeed, not retain the supremacy which a chance combination of events secured for her at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but no nation of the future can again have a monopoly such as that enjoyed recently by England. Not alone the British Empire, but the German and the French and the Russian and the American empire will divide up among them the resources of the world. There is room for all of them. It does not necessarily follow that because we are going up, they must go down.

HENRY B. GARDNER : I had it in mind to say a word along the line developed by Professor Seligman, but he has expressed his thought much better than I can express mine. Still there are some facts I wish to bring out in regard particularly to American trade during the decade of 1850 to 1860. If I understand Mr. Adams, he maintains that in that decade the discovery of the precious metals, and their export, was the main factor in our industrial growth. Professor Seligman has already referred to another important event which took place in that decade, namely, at that time we reached the fertile Mississippi valley in our westward expansion. Still an-

other extremely important fact is that the railway during that decade first began to make itself felt in our industrial life.

Mr. ADAMS: I beg pardon. What I said was that one of the difficulties previous to that time which prevented us from having a railway or industrial system was that we had not the capital, and that the gold which we got from California furnished us with the means for developing the country. That was the precise statement which I made.

Mr. GARDNER: I doubt the accuracy of even that statement. The reason we could not have a railway before that time was that the railway was not invented, and that it took some little time to develop it sufficiently to play a really important part in the industry of the country.

Another important fact was the change in England's trade policy, which occurred during the later forties, and which laid the foundation for the tremendous development of manufacturing industry which followed after 1850. If I remember rightly the growth in our foreign trade during the decade of 1850 to 1860 consisted primarily in the growth of cotton exports. Whereas, out of a total export of some hundred and thirty-five million dollars in 1850, our cotton exports amounted to seventy millions. During the next ten years the exports of cotton increased to over two hundred millions out of a total of three hundred and sixteen millions. That certainly would seem to have been the direct outcome of the new market created in England, and of the improvement in our transportation facilities. I believe that the development of the export of our food products as a principal element in our foreign trade did not come until the decade following the civil war. Thus the increased

market for American produce abroad would not seem to have been primarily due to the discovery of the precious metals in the United States. As a matter of fact, the precious metals did not play a principal part in the development of our foreign trade.

I would like also to say just a word in development of the thought which Professor Seligman presented so carefully in regard to the difference between ancient and modern conditions. The civilization of to-day is an industrial civilization, based upon the scientific development of natural resources. It follows that each country's economic well-being depends primarily upon the economic resources at its command, and upon the skill and efficiency with which those economic resources can be developed. It seems to me that this view has a very striking confirmation in what I might call the rehabilitation of the ancient civilizations, civilizations that had gone to decay in the struggle between nations, which Mr. Adams has depicted, but which now, with the help of modern scientific methods, are again taking their places among the producing and prosperous nations of the world. Egypt and India, under English influences, are acquiring a new civilization which bids fair to be a permanent civilization, and we may surely expect the same thing in the case of China. Rivalry between nations will determine their relative importance. It will affect the well-being of the nation by affecting the share which it has in the world's markets, as compared with other nations, but, as industrial life is organized at present, certainly the main determining factor is the industrial resources and the efficiency of the people who handle those resources. So long as resources and efficiency remain in the case of any nation, economic decay, in the sense which has been pictured, is an impossibility.

JOHN F. CROWELL: I had hoped to hear something

in this discussion of the effects of trade expansion in the United States upon the United States, inasmuch as we are primarily interested in this phase of the subject. I take the liberty to bring out a few effects which are bound to result from the expansion of our foreign trade. Our foreign trade has expanded geographically eastward, southward, and westward. The influence of the southward expansion has been to increase the accessions of commodities by way of our gulf ports, and change the whole tide of distribution through the Mississippi valley, thus reducing to a great extent the opportunities which the trunk line railway systems have in the command of the traffic in the interior. Some effect is already manifest in the export withdrawals of provisions, flour and grain by way of the Pacific coast. To-day the five great slaughtering centers and live stock markets on the Missouri and at the lower lakes are competing with the far northwestern ports for the command of live stock, and the Rocky Mountain states and territories are feeling the effects of that active competition between the seaboard ports on the Pacific and these markets in the Mississippi valley. One effect of this three-fold competition among the Gulf lines, the trunk lines, and the transcontinental lines, both in sending in and in bringing out, articles of traffic will be to modify the economic position of producers of the surplus products, especially in the central part of the United States, and gradually to change the level not only of prices but of railway rates and cost of distribution between the interior and the seaboard centers of distribution. These several phases it seems to me are entirely pertinent to the question in hand.

Now turning to the general character of this paper, it seems to me that this morning in the author's discussion we have had a splendid illustration of the deification of

the great economic superstition that the end of all existence is economic welfare. Economic progress is a function of the social aims of the community, and a means to these ends, not an end in itself.

The three fallacies in the discussion seem to my mind to be these: First, that a nation is an independent trading unit—an assumption which does not correspond to the fact. A nation with other nations forms a complementary commercial unit; to be an isolated commercial unit is for a nation simply to dig its grave and put its head in first. Second, that a nation that does not have all raw materials for making iron and steel, for example, within its boundary can not compete with a nation that has. In securing raw materials international boundaries are imaginary lines. It does not cost any more for Germany, for instance, to haul her ores from the Gallivera mines in northern Sweden, and ship them some hundred miles down the Baltic and thence up the Rhine, than it does to haul the ore from the mines a hundred miles from the head of the lakes to the Lake Superior docks, thence eight hundred miles down the lakes, and then two hundred and seventeen miles to Pittsburg. What we want is common sense and the study of geographical distances to burst the bubble of our fallacious reasoning about our living in a fool's paradise of economic superiority. Third, there is in this paper the fallacy of reasoning by analogy. Analogy has been running on all fours all over this platform, and there is no more fallacious way of reasoning. There is no analogy at all between the primitive conditions described in the beginning of this paper and the conditions now prevailing in the United States. Moreover, the metallic thread that runs through history is not the secret of history. The secret of history is a very different thing, a spiritual, a moral and an intellectual force.

THE COMMERCIAL POLICY OF EUROPE.

BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

The commercial policy of Europe may be looked at from so many points of view that I must begin my study by imposing certain limitations. In place of taking any particular country and defining its commercial position in relation to its neighbors; in place of seeking to lay down any general principle of control or regulation common to all the nations of Europe; instead of undertaking to picture trade in statistics, giving masses of figures of quantity or quality; which may be interpreted in more ways than one; I have sought to find some one feature which would in history explain the trend or development of European commercial relations, and in this development explain the largest number of leading features of the existing situation.

The commercial treaty which was negotiated in 1860 between Cobden, on the part of Great Britain, and Chevalier, on the part of France, introduced a new practice in dealing with the foreign trade of France. The leading principles established by that treaty were the prevention of differential treatment of subjects, shipping, or goods of the contracting powers, by means of the most-favored-nation clause, and the fixture of tariffs by means of tables of duties, to remain in force for a term of years. It will be of little avail to go over the old difference of opinion as to the effect of the treaty on the foreign trade of the contracting countries, a difference that can hardly be reconciled or even measured, because of the intervention of that most disturbing of

all social factors—war. The Cobden treaty, imposed upon France by the will of an adventurer and of an autocrat, under persuasion of a very able economist and statesman, marks a convenient starting point for this paper. After 1860 a number of commercial treaties were negotiated among the European nations, and, recognizing the principles established by the Cobden treaty, they pointed to a more liberal system of international trade than had hitherto prevailed.¹

The Franco-Prussian war and the consequent large indemnity demanded from France laid upon that country a heavy financial burden. The patriotism of the people in responding to the appeal of the government accomplished much by freely lending their savings to the government. In 1870 the holders of *rentes* registered in France were 1,254,000; in 1876, six years later they numbered 4,404,763. But the French people were also obliged to submit to additional taxation, and along with new excises, customs duties were the readiest taxes at hand. Thiers denounced the commercial treaty with England, framed a new and much higher tariff, and went so far as to propose duties upon raw materials of foreign origin, even when no similar material was raised or produced in France.

A new power rose on the woes of France. The accomplished Empire of Germany, now first conscious of its strength in war, and possessed of a ready treasure in the French indemnity, turned to arrange its domestic

¹ The conclusion of the Cobden treaty with England was followed by a series of treaties on the part of France and other nations. The French treaties were :—

With Belgium, 1 May, 1861; Zollverein, 2 August, 1862; Italy, 17 January, 1863; Switzerland, 30 June, 1864; Sweden and Norway, 14 February, 1865; Hanseatic cities, 4 March, 1865; Spain, 18 June, 1865; Portugal, 11 July, 1866; and Austria, 11 December, 1866.

concerns so as to adapt them to the novel conditions. This was no light task. The union of states was not complete, and differences as to policy early developed. France was known to be humbled, but not crushed, an enemy in all probability to be fought again, and at no distant day. In its exuberance of new birth the empire saw visions of a future splendid development, and money flowed in quantities into channels where a profit was promised. Speculation supervened, and after speculation the usual collapse. The crisis was not confined to Germany. The United States has cause to remember the crash of 1873, short as our memory has become for past events. Great Britain too gave examples of banking rottenness and misplaced confidence in foreign investments that foretold a financial panic, and experienced the full force of the storm. But in Germany and in Austria the conditions were aggravated by the greatly inflated operations. The creation of banks, credit companies, discount companies, advance associations, and other institutions of credit had been carried in 1871 and 1872 to a "prodigious extent" all over Germany, Austria and even Italy; and the capitals had become hotbeds of speculative ventures. Vienna was the weakest, and gave the first signs of collapse in 1872, when the Bank act was suspended—a curious proceeding in a country where the currency was already irredeemable, but taken because of the desire on the part of the government to allay excitement by removing the limit to issues. From Vienna the disturbance spread to the German money markets, and even Russia suffered through a too liberal offering of credit by the banks and credit companies established in 1871 and 1872. France alone passed through no credit shock, for economy was forced upon

her by the milliards due to Germany, and speculation had found no place in her markets.

Thus we find a condition of exhaustion in the financial world, and from 1873 to 1879 a general depression of great and trying severity prevailed. In increasing her taxes France could at least plead supreme necessity, for only by extraordinary sacrifices, immediate and future (the effect of which are felt to this day), could she regain possession of her territory and government. As these taxes increased the cost of domestic production, Thiers claimed that he could raise duties on imports without violating the terms of the treaties. This increased cost, he urged, was equivalent to an excise duty, and the treaty with England expressly stipulated (Art. 9) that if either of the contracting powers thought necessary to establish an excise duty on any article of native production or manufacture, an equal duty might be levied on the similar foreign manufacture. In practice the attempt would have been difficult, because of the binding force of existing treaties, and especially difficult in face of the treaty with England, about to expire in February, 1873.

“Cotton from India would of course be liable to the duty if imported direct when the treaty with England shall have expired; but as Switzerland and Italy by their treaties with France obtained the right of introducing cotton into France, nothing could prevent it from taking that route through either of those countries. . . . Silk from China and Japan, with which countries no treaties of commerce exist, is another article on which he anticipates an immediate revenue. But the Swiss treaty again forms an impediment, and one article of that convention dispenses from the certificate of origin a whole series of articles, among which are silk, cotton,

and other yarns, so that the raw material being excluded from France, would find its way in under the form of thrown silk, and not only escape the duty but prejudice an important branch of manufacture. . . . There is no treaty with the United States, and American cotton might be taxed immediately ; but for the next eight months English yarns and tissues, on the raw material of which no duty had been paid, would continue to enter on the same conditions, and in reality with a premium equal to the amount of the duty. A tax may be imposed on wool from the countries of South America ; but manufacturers would continue to be able to make their purchases, duty free, from Holland and Spain until 1875, and from Austria-Hungary until 1876. The same with oleaginous substances : 22,000 tons of ground nuts are imported from English colonies, and 26,000 tons from Africa ; a duty will be imposed on the latter, while for the present the former will enter free ; the importations from Africa would consequently cease, and the duty would produce nothing. Italy and Switzerland import vegetable oils at a nominal duty, and have special tariffs for candles, soap, and stearine ; the French manufacturers would have to manufacture the same with raw material that had paid tribute to the customs. Timber from Canada and Russia could be taxed, but the only result would be that merchants would import it from Sweden and Norway instead of from those countries.”¹

The most-favored-nation clause in treaties of commerce had thus early become an object of suspicion and dislike in France, but more for the reason that it hindered the government from obtaining a larger revenue from customs than for any supposed decrease of

¹ *Economist*, 6 July, 1872.

trade or pressure of foreign competition. It was no time to make new experiments, and treaties with England and Belgium were contracted, upon much the same lines as the older treaties, denounced in 1872; and these treaties were to remain in force till 1877. A general enquiry addressed in 1875 to the chambers of commerce by the Minister of Commerce called out a decided opinion in favor of a renewal of the system of treaties, without any material increase in the conventional or treaty tariff rates.

Other states, urged by their financial necessities and steadily decreasing trade incident to the long period of depression (1873-1879) began to revise their tariffs and always in the direction of higher duties. Spain had passed a new law in July, 1877. Italy adopted a general tariff in May, 1878, and Austria-Hungary in June of the same year. Each of these revisals touched the commercial interests of Germany, and the next stage in the course of events was the tariff of Germany, generally known as the law of 15 July, 1879.

Like other countries of Europe the tendency of old Germany—the Zollverein—after 1860 had been towards low duties and a liberal trade policy. The creation of the empire brought a necessity for larger revenues, for the method of making requisitions upon the members of the new empire involved political as well as fiscal dangers, and an opportunity for industrial development such as could hardly have been presented by isolated kingdoms and principalities. In seeking to foster the industries of Germany by a protective tariff Bismarck admitted a change of heart, but in such a combination of strength, subtlety and weakness as his character embodied, inconsistencies were only to be expected. Pleading the failure of the so-called free-trade policy of 1865,

Bismarck defended his tariff as a return to a policy avowedly protective, under which he believed the Zollverein had enjoyed a prosperous career of nearly half a century. Urging a political necessity of abolishing all imperial direct taxation, he claimed the expediency as well as right to impose new indirect taxes. Wishing to have a free hand in directing the course of the new empire, he rejected the idea of close connections or alliances, political or commercial, with the neighboring Powers. To Austria alone did he offer to enter into a closer commercial connection, one that could not but lead to closer political union. But Austria refused to consider the proposals, to her lasting injury, as her statesmen admitted some twenty years after.

If revenue was one of the objects of Bismarck's policy, protection to native industries was another. In defending his change of heart, which had among other results driven from the ministry the able Delbrück, so long the economic guide of the chancellor, he was moderate in his claims. His proposed tariff did not seek to obtain revenue by heavy duties on a few articles, but by many light duties on many commodities, thus escaping the danger of imposing unduly heavy taxation on any one region of the Empire; or of giving too large a protection to a few favored industries. The depression of German manufactures, and the avowed policy of other nations gave support to his position. Not only were complaints received from industries, like the iron and steel, of foreign competition, but agricultural interests made themselves heard in like manner, demanding remedial legislation against foreign imports.

In May, 1879, the tariff bill was laid before the Reichstag, accompanied by a voluminous report explaining its provisions. Commercial treaties, it recited, had not ac-

complished what had been expected of them, and other countries were less willing to recognize that true reciprocity, on which alone such treaties could be defended. The rapid development of transportation, and of the machinery of distribution had given rise to new and unforeseen conditions ; while the protective policy of such countries as the United States was opposed to the commerce and industry of Germany, and could be met successfully only by similar measures. The tendency was everywhere, except in England, towards commercial restriction. Russia, beginning on January 1, 1877, demanded gold in payment of customs duties, a demand that raised all duties by the difference between the price of gold and the price of paper. The action of Austria-Hungary and Italy was cited, and much was made of the fact that France considered the advisability of following their example.

In framing this tariff Bismarck distinguished between revenue and protective duties, and further divided the protective duties into such as were industrial and such as were agrarian. In subsequent years these distinctions became more marked, as political parties arose connected with one or the other, urging their particular claims, often in disregard of the interests of others, or in defiance of claims better founded on economic conditions and policy. Without the grain duties the tariff would scarcely have come into existence. The industrial protectionists knew that a tariff such as they wished would never pass the Reichstag unless the votes of the agricultural representatives were obtained in its favor. The tariff of 1879, by uniting the agrarian and industrial duties, first made possible a parliamentary compromise between the large landed interest and the large employers of labor. It was an alliance that explains so

much of Germany's commercial history since 1879, and one that has come well to the front to-day, demanding its full share of attention at the hands of the government.

His objections to commercial treaties were expressed in curt phrase: "The chances of a large export trade are in these days exceedingly precarious. There are now no more great countries to discover. The globe is circumnavigated, and we can no longer find any large purchasing nations. Commercial treaties, it is true, are under certain circumstances favourable to foreign trade; but whenever a treaty is concluded, it is a question *Qui trompe-t-on ici*—who is taken in? As a rule one of the parties is, but only after a number of years is it known which one."

Whatever concessions in existing treaties should prove to be inconvenient might be corrected through a manipulation of railway freights, a power recently given by the state purchase of the railway system of Germany; but no new treaties were to be entered into that should materially modify the tariff rates of duty or interfere with the future development of protection to home interests. Bismarck deliberately isolated Germany commercially. Austria-Hungary could not but feel that the new policy was hostile to her interests, and again framed new duties which widened her separation from Germany.

The reports of the German chambers of commerce for 1880 were filled with complaints of the effects of the new tariff. These complaints were particularly bitter in West Prussia, the province most intimately connected with Russia. Insterburg, on the frontier, asserted that the immediate effect of the tariff was to pauperize the population by destroying the trade across

the border. Memel complained that the duties on grain had ruined the transit business on the Baltic, and that Russia founded a new port in her own dominions, Libau, from which she traded in grain with Scandinavia and Holland, without touching at German ports. Tilsit and Königsberg both dwelt on the ruin of the frontier trade by the new duties. As a whole eighty-five chambers reported and a very large majority were for condemning the new tariff as hostile to trade.

Bismarck's reply was an order that the report of no chamber should be published in the future until some months after it had been submitted to the government. One chamber, on violating this order, was promptly dissolved. He did not hesitate to declare that his new conviction was not to be altered. Speaking in 1881 he said : " Without being a passionate protectionist, I am, as a financier, however, a passionate imposer of duties, from a conviction that the taxes, the duties levied at the frontier, are almost exclusively borne by the foreigner, especially for manufactured articles, and that they have always an advantageous retrospective protectionist action. With regard to the development of our tariff, I am firmly resolved to resist every modification in the other direction, and to assist, with all the means in my power, as far as my influence extends, in the direction of a greater support to a higher revenue raised from frontier duties."

The possibilities involved in a tariff for negotiation, one not seriously intended for actual enforcement, but designed for producing an influence on other nations for diplomatic purposes, were early recognized. And when, in 1876, France entered seriously upon the task of tariff revision, the labor of preparing the draught of a bill was imposed upon the Superior Council of Com-

merce. In explaining its methods for fixing the duties recommended in the draught, the sub-committee asserted its wish that lower rates could have been given, lower even than those in existing treaties. "But we had to remember that a few months hence our negotiators will be wrestling with foreign negotiators, each party striving to obtain for their own country the most favorable terms. Therefore the duties were augmented in order to enable the purchase of concession by concession. Further, the duties were changed from *ad valorem* to specific, a change imitated by other nations on a general scale.

Could not the government by negotiating agreements with other countries undermine the elaborate structure devised by the legislature, and thus neutralize the very purpose of the duties by granting too much of a reduction in rates? The danger was foreseen, and an amendment was proposed that the new tariff should form a minimum tariff, below which the treaty rates should not go. M. Tirard, then Minister of Commerce, demanded the instant rejection of the amendment, and Gambetta, then President of the Chamber, remarked that it was nothing less than a denial of the right of government to negotiate. To vote high rates for the purpose of negotiating, and then determine those rates as the minimum, was on its face an absurdity, and no convention based upon mutual concessions of duties could have been obtained. The agrarians, defeated on the general question, gained one point of great moment. The more important agricultural duties, those on grain and meats, were not to be reduced by treaty or convention, and thus remained subject to revision by the legislature whenever it should be deemed expedient.

The new tariff, promulgated May 8, 1881, constituted the basis for negotiating new treaties of commerce, and such treaties were formed as follows: with Belgium, October 31, 1881; Italy, November 3, 1881; Portugal, December 19, 1881; Norway and Sweden, December, 30, 1881; Spain, February 6, 1882; Switzerland, February 23, 1882; Servia, January 18, 1883. Unwilling to come into a definite agreement with Great Britain, and unable to impose the rates of the general tariff on imports from Great Britain without inflicting great injury on French industries, a most-favored-nation treaty was framed. With Austria-Hungary and the Netherlands similar contracts were made, with special provisions applying to certain articles of trade or shipping.

Only one country remained—Germany. The treaty of Frankfort, May 10, 1871, contained an article, (Art. 11) stating that the two contracting governments should take as the basis of their commercial relations the most-favored-nation treatment, with this exception: that under this rule were to be included only such favors as were granted to Great Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria and Russia. Should the treaties with all these powers be abrogated, France would have control over her commercial relations with Germany; but not otherwise, unless some manner of evading the article of the Frankfort treaty was devised.

While thus retaining the practice of commercial treaties, the French tariff law of 1881 contained a strong leaning towards favoring the agricultural interests of France. The years 1875 to 1880 had not been favorable to the farmers of France, any more than they had been to the rest of Europe, and heavy importations of grain and meats had been made. To quiet the fears and clamors of the agricultural population, the largest and

strongest politically, duties upon farm products were increased, but not sufficiently to effect the end proposed. Other measures were invoked, and hygienic reasons were found against imports of foreign food. Hence the movement against American pork and other hog products, and an agitation for increased duties upon imported grain, meats and live animals. Again did other countries follow the same policy.

The committee of the German agriculturalists congress addressed a petition to the imperial chancellor asking that the import of dead meat and all preserved meats from the United States be immediately stopped altogether, as dangerous to the public health,¹ and the land owners of south Germany petitioned for higher railroad freights on farm produce in anticipation of the opening of the St. Gothard tunnel.

A trial of moderate protection only whetted the appetite, and good reasons were urged from many sides why the policy should be extended. International feeling had not, as yet, been excited, save in the natural instance of France and Germany, where the jealousy was largely confined to France. Doubtless the conditions under which commercial relations subsisted between the two states were unduly favorable to Germany. That country had a general tariff only slightly modified, and for a very few articles, by treaty. France, on the other hand, had a general tariff extensively modified by a number of treaties, which in return for concessions made by the states with whom they were signed stipulated for lower duties than the general tariff imposed. Yet by the treaty of Frankfort, and under the most-favored-nation clause in that treaty, France was obliged to extend to Germany every concession her negotiations

¹ *Economist*, April 22, 1882.

had obtained from European governments. While giving nothing, Germany obtained much. The absence of a German conventional tariff was a real grievance of France, and the question was raised whether it would not be well to secure a new and more equal commercial understanding with Germany. Official opinion on the subject was out-spoken to the point of indiscretion: "The treaty of Frankfort concluded between France and Germany at the close of a dreadful war weighs in a very heavy and oppressive manner on our commerce and industry. It cannot be denied that this treaty, which put the seal on our military defeat, placed us at the same time in a situation full of difficulties, not to say in one of ruinous inferiority. The consequences of the treaty of Frankfort have been melancholy for France, and the Germans have perhaps done us more harm by their trade laws than they did by the invasion of their armies. But the treaty of Frankfort in itself is neutral. It is worked against our interest by the help of an economical method which we are at liberty to employ in our turn. The Chambers must decide on that question. The treaty of Frankfort compromises the existence of all our commercial contracts, and it seems time for this treaty to cease to be looked upon as perpetual."¹

The initiative was taken by Germany, and upon a plan of general tariff revision. Attempts made in April, 1882, and in February, 1883, to modify the tariff of 1879 were unsuccessful, but in 1884 the agricultural classes of Germany began to demand the imposition of higher duties upon grain. The existing rate was one mark per 100 kilog. and the imports had not been excessive. But the effects of the trying six years after 1873 were

¹ From Spuller's Report on the situation of the working classes in France, 1884, (Chamber of Deputies, No. 2695).

still felt, and the very abundance of the aid received in the times of need from the United States gave point to the complaints of the land owners, especially those in eastern Germany, of their inability to stand up against such competition. How little ground existed for the complaints, indeed how much ground there was to prove the imports were essential, is seen from the returns of imports and exports of the four leading cereals, 1880-1890, (tons = 1000 kilog).

IMPORTS.

	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Barley</i>
1880.....	227,553.....	689,563.....	222,271
1881.....	361,949.....	575,454.....	247,828
1882.....	687,241.....	658,280.....	372,648
1883.....	641,910.....	777,046.....	321,567
1884.....	754,512.....	961,560.....	440,080
Average 5 years.....	534,633	732,380	320,879
1885.....	*572,423.....	*769,701.....	*438,036
1886.....	273,280.....	565,265.....	353,896
1887.....	*547,255.....	*638,544.....	*511,526
1888.....	339,767.....	652,811.....	444,781
1889.....	516,887.....	1,059,731.....	651,422
Average 5 years.....	449,922.....	737,210.....	479,932

* Years of tariff legislation.

While imports remained about the same or increased in quantity, the exports experienced a marked change.

EXPORTS. (Tons = 1000 kilog.)

	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Rye</i>	<i>Barley</i>
1880.....	178,170.....	26,587.....	154,409
1881.....	53,388.....	11,564.....	119,318
1882.....	62,502.....	15,755.....	79,743
1883.....	80,758.....	12,134.....	82,824
1884.....	36,193.....	6,286.....	37,265
1885.....	14,080.....	4,021.....	24,706
1886.....	8,294.....	3,198.....	58,080
1887.....	2,840.....	3,138.....	20,748
1888.....	1,112.....	2,262.....	23,245
1889.....	758.....	608.....	22,113

Whatever increase of domestic production of grain occurred in this period was required for home consumption, and Germany ceased to be an exporter of grain in any appreciable quantities. In spite of this growing dependence upon foreign supplies the government favored the demand for higher duties, and a bill, submitted in January, 1885, became a law on May 28, raising the duties on wheat and rye from 1 mark to 3 marks; on barley, from $\frac{1}{2}$ mark to $1\frac{1}{2}$ marks; and on oats, from 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$ marks. The agrarians had won the day.

But it was not without some danger to the state, for the action aroused a spirit of retaliation. Before the bill had become a law the movement began. In March, 1885, France voted to increase her duties on grain and cattle imported from other countries; and Austria voted to authorize the government to raise the import duties on wheat, flour and bread, to the rates proposed by Germany. If Germany, said the Hungarian Minister of Commerce, had not proposed to raise her corn duties, nobody in Austria-Hungary would have thought of raising the corn duties there, Hungary being a corn-exporting country. Austria-Hungary, concluded the Minister, will certainly not cling to her new tariff in the event of Germany's refraining from augmenting her customs duties.

The new German duties also led to agitation in Sweden, chiefly in apprehension of the result of the contemplated charges on foreign timber, which it was feared would be disastrous to an important Swedish and Norwegian trade. Retaliating motions were introduced into both chambers at Stockholm in favor of an import duty on foreign corn. The agricultural duties in Germany, and those to be imposed on timber, also caused

dissatisfaction in Russia. This subject of a revision of the tariff came before the Council of the Empire, and retaliation against Germany and Austria were the motives to decide its adoption, with a general tendency in favor of protection.

Russia alone possessed power to produce serious effect upon German exports, and Russia was more directly concerned in the grain duties of Germany than any other power save Austria-Hungary. Germany was the best market for Russian grain, and Russia was the best and most promising market for German manufactures, especially of iron and steel. The threat of reprisal on the part of Russia for the duties of 1885 passed unheeded at the time, but in 1887 when German agrarians demanded further protection it was realized. The government raised the duties on iron and steel manufactures to an almost prohibitive point, and pledged itself to make no reduction before 1898. The gage thus thrown was promptly accepted by Germany, who again in 1887 pushed up the duties on imported grain. Those on wheat and rye were raised from 3 to 5 marks; that on oats from 1.50 to 4 marks, and that on barley from 1.50 to 2.25 marks, (law of December 23, 1887). We naturally look for some counter-action on the part of Russia, and are not surprised to find the situation is becoming strained, and in more directions than that of commerce.

“There is no denying that Russia is intent upon shutting out the whole world commercially, and upon destroying the German element in its western provinces. One ukase follows the other, and scarcely is one additional impost duty enforced when another is proposed, for the most part duties that must offend Germany more than any other state. On the other hand, the German govern-

ment are not acting very differently. They continually expel Russian subjects, and raise one customs duty after another, especially those connected with agriculture, whereby Russia, above all, suffers. The last measure which Russia has aimed against Germany is the decree of the 25th May, by which landed property is protected by the laws of Russia only if the proprietor be a Russian. Foreigners may neither purchase nor inherit Russian land, and the heirs of proprietors are left the choice of selling their land in three years time, or becoming naturalized Russians. It is this decree, which is unique in modern legislation, that has caused the order to be given in accordance with which the German government press is warning German capitalists against investing in Russian securities. But we may suppose that if this were the only cause the order would have been given a month ago. We may therefore surely believe that the political attitude of Russia during the last two weeks has something to do with it. The *Kölnische Zeitung* says that just as Russia is now depreciating German landed property in Russia, so may she some day introduce a high tax on coupons, and thus destroy German capital. Some official papers even assert that if there were a war between Germany and Russia the latter might seize the opportunity, and declare herself bankrupt, and thus pocket two milliards of German money, for that is the sum invested by German capitalists in Russian securities. This bankruptcy would even appear in the light of a patriotic action, because it would weaken the enemy. The official papers, moreover, call attention to the fact that England and Holland have got rid of as much of their Russian stocks as possible, whilst France never consented to take them up, because to deal commercially is to make 'friendship suffer'.

The warning of the German government press is certainly well founded, but it must be remembered that the German government was the first to recommend Russian securities to the German public. With a view to showing Russia its friendly feelings and neighborly good will, the Royal Prussian Seehandlung took an active part in introducing the Russian loans to Germany. The irritation of the German government has not failed to produce an impression upon Russia.”¹

While the attitude of Germany and Russia contained promise of future trouble, more immediate difficulties in maintaining commercial peace was experienced elsewhere. The general tendency to denounce the most-favored-nation clause in commercial treaties, and to accentuate the provisions of national tariffs was producing its effect. France and Italy after fruitless negotiations were engaged in conducting a tariff war, illuminative of the effect of increasing tension on trade questions among European nations. The differences began by the rejection by the French Senate of a treaty of navigation. On the plea of revenue, Italy passed a tariff law which increased many duties, and especially those on textiles and metal goods. It was afterwards asserted that these duties were never intended to be permanent, but were designed to serve as means of negotiation rather than of actual execution. The government found itself too deeply pledged to retreat, and so the high duties became operative. While Austria and other powers acquiesced in the new tariff, France refused to accept the situation, and insisted upon a return to the terms of the treaty of 1881, but in a manner which the Italian legislature

¹ *Economist*, July 9, 1887. I have treated more fully of this question in “The Economy of Russia,” to be published in the *Political Science Quarterly*, for March, 1902.

could not admit. The French government framed a bill which was intended to impose prohibitive duties upon imports from Italy, and both bodies of the legislature increased the rates so as to make them still more oppressive. Silk and cattle the two leading articles in the trade were taxed almost to exclusion.

The treaties of commerce into which France had so freely entered gave rise to a tariff other than the general tariff, a conventional tariff, in which the duties were lower than those of the general tariff. The protectionists of France, and with them must be counted the agrarian party, had become restive under these arrangements which had yielded substantial reductions upon many rates which they regarded as essential to the industrial and agricultural welfare of France.

"The evident interest of France," M. Meline, already the leader of the high tariff party, said, in the campaign of 1889, "is to remain the mistress of her tariffs. . . . There should be several tariffs, so that the suppression of the treaties may not be considered as a declaration of war by nations with which France had long-standing commercial relations. To them France will accord a tariff of favor as low as possible, reserving the highest tariff—a defensive one—for countries which refuse to France the most-favored-nation treatment."

The design of this plea was to favor the regulation of customs tariff by legislative enactments rather than by treaty; and to accomplish this, the Assembly must frame two tariffs: one, general, or a maximum tariff, to be applied to such countries as would not make concessions by treaty; and the other, a conventional, or minimum tariff, the benefits of which could only be obtained by treaty, that is, by similar reductions in duties or concessions of commercial privileges. The usual *question-*

*nai*re on trade policy was sent by the government to the commercial bodies of France, and the replies were overwhelmingly in favor of terminating the existing treaties, and a large majority were opposed to France entering into any fresh engagements, wishing the nation to preserve entire liberty to modify the tariff duties as required. With these replies before it the Superior Council of Commerce could only make its recommendations accordingly. The existing system of treaties was to be set aside, and a maximum (or general) and a minimum (or conventional) tariff were to be framed. Such treaties as should be contracted were to continue for about five years, and were all to terminate on the same date. Thus the minimum tariff would be subject to revision every five years, and the maximum would be open to revision at all times. A minor advantage urged was that such a plan would free France from the obligations of the Treaty of Frankfort, for the rates of the maximum or general tariff could be applied to Germany, should that step be judged prudent or proper in other respects. The perfected recommendations as they came from the government were full of promises. Agriculture, formerly neglected, was to be fully protected; a perfect balance was to be maintained between agriculture and industry; and labor was to be protected in work and wages. If the tariff of 1881 was silver, the project of 1891 was golden. Accordingly treaties containing tariffs were denounced early in 1891, and the act was not very favorably received by the other powers. The strain of tariff revision and treaty negotiations was becoming too apparent to be lightly invited or silently endured. Every time the matter was opened it meant higher duties, hostile propositions, and increasingly difficult adjustments. The attitude of the powers on the notifi-

cation of France was extremely suggestive, and even ominous.

“On January 24, 1891, the Department of Foreign Affairs instructed the French Ministers at Brussels, Berne, Lisbon, Madrid, The Hague, and Stockholm, which had treaties of commerce, with a tariff, to notify the termination of those arrangements, and at the same time to propose to maintain the other commercial conventions relative to navigation, copyright, trade marks, etc. These overtures were a complete failure for only one of the six powers interested accepted the offer. Switzerland replied that all the conventions must stand or fall together; Portugal, that her government was not disposed to extend beyond February 1, 1892, the treaties not referring to customs duties; Spain declined to treat the two questions separately, and reserved her reply relative to the commercial conventions until the French Government had communicated the definite new customs tariff; the answer of Holland was a formal notice to terminate the navigation and copyright conventions; Belgium did the same, and Sweden and Norway appeared alone to enter into the views of the French government.”¹

An interesting question on the powers of the government was here created. It was well stated in the *Debats* and may be thus summarized: “The system adopted or endured by the ministers deprives them almost completely, if not in appearance, at least in reality, of one of the most essential attributes of the executive power, namely, that of negotiating and concluding treaties of commerce. They may indeed sign conventions, at least the bill says nothing to the contrary; but under what conditions? Their hands are bound by the

¹ *Economist*, February 6, 1892.

minimum tariff, which is a bar to any serious negotiations. The approval of the Parliament for treaties of commerce is reserved by the Constitution; but, according to the preamble of the bill, which is, however, somewhat obscure on the point, the benefits of the minimum tariff are never to be accorded by decree, and the consent of the Parliament will always be necessary. The government will not require the permission of the Chambers to increase the tariff, even to prohibition, but it is forbidden to make the reduction of a centime. That the determined majority, ultra-protectionists, mistrustful, and hostile to treaties of commerce, could invent such minute precautions against the government might be understood. But what is inexplicable, strange, novel and irregular, is the attitude of a government which voluntarily and spontaneously asks the Chambers to limit its constitutional liberty of action and fetter its hands."

A necessity arose for defining the meaning and purpose of a minimum. The constitutional aspect could be evaded, as indeed it was. The first article of the bill contained no expressed restriction of the powers of the Government, but the preamble or commentary which accompanied the measure explicitly declared that the fundamental principle on which the economy of the minimum tariff was based, was that it formed a limit "below which it will not be permitted in future to descend." M. Ribot, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, could not recognize this doctrine to the full. Had he done so, he must have admitted that the Government was shorn of its prerogatives, and imprisoned by limits thus determined by the legislature. But his opinion was of little moment for he said the Government would not destroy its own work by reducing, in treaties of com-

merce, the minimum tariff it had itself proposed. This concession, for such it was, received support from Meline, who further urged that by making any reduction in the minimum the Government would be disregarding its parliamentary duty, and might be charged with over riding the manifest intention of Parliament. The veiled threat embodied in this support was easily felt. It was equivalent to saying that when the Government came before the Chamber to ask for a ratification of the concessions in the minimum it might make, it would feel the resentment of that body. It was to curb an "arbitrary power" of the Government in tariff matters, that the minimum had been devised, and the curb was acting with success. For M. de Freycinet, refusing to deny that he might not be obliged to ask the chamber to modify one or more articles of the minimum, practically admitted that no change could be made in the minimum without the consent of Parliament. The only difference between the executive and the protectionists was whether the assent should be obtained before the negotiations or after the signing of the conventions.

Such being the position of the minimum in its constitutional aspect, it remains to determine its force in commercial matters. In his report that has been admired and imitated even in the United States Congress, M. Meline suggests its militant features: "In order to give its full effect to our minimum tariff and to persuade other countries to ask for it, two things are necessary. First of all there must be a distinct difference between the figures of the two tariffs, so that there may be a decided gain by taking the minimum tariff, and decided loss by having to submit to the general tariff. It is necessary again that the two tariffs should be

applied specifically to the greatest number of these products, since the more the number of these products is diminished the more the benefit is weakened which results from the distinction between the two tariffs."

Should a nation not accept the duties thus fixed by the minimum the rates of the maximum would apply. But another contingency was foreseen. Suppose the other nation should not only refuse to accept the minimum thus menacingly offered it, but should make reprisals and legislate against French products, what powers had the government in the matter. I again quote the Meline report, as the clearest statement of the purposes of this tariff legislation and the best exposition and defense of extreme protection: "Article 4 of the bill, foreseeing the eventuality of a nation being tempted to apply to our products differential taxes, or the régime of prohibition, have given the French government the power to reply to such proceedings by employing the same means. Your commission has thought that it would be unwise and imprudent to attach to the government alone so great a responsibility as that of fixing tariffs of reprisal towards a particular nation in cases where this responsibility did not fall to it under the ordinary tariffs. Such a measure is, moreover, sufficiently serious to make it desirable that Parliament should be consulted before any steps are taken. Accordingly we have refused in principle to grant to the government alone the use of so dangerous a power. "It might, however, happen that Parliament should not be sitting at the very moment that it was necessary to act, in order to guard French interests. In such a case it is important that the government should not remain unarmed, and your commission has been of opinion that it should be authorized to take these provisional

measures which may seem necessary to it; we have added only this condition, that when the Chambers next meet these measures should be submitted to the ratification of Parliament."

Of course it followed that the agricultural duties could not so much as be entered in the minimum tariff. The solicitude for the farmer, and the expediency of securing his support for the measure imposed this conduct. As cereals and cattle thus had only a single duty, and that in the general tariff, it also followed that they could not be made the subject of any treaty provision or reduction. If the agricultural interest was neglected in 1881, it was amply cared for in 1891. A duty of five francs on wheat had only recently been voted, and even Meline asserted that "no one would think of raising it", an assertion curiously disproved a few years later, when the duty on wheat was raised.

It will be recalled that in 1879 Germany stood aloof from her neighbors, not wishing to enter into any commercial agreements with them. In 1891 this policy of exclusiveness was reversed. While France was slowly framing a tariff which was intended to be highly protective to home industries, prohibitive on foreign imports and sacrificing colonial interests to the mother country, the countries of central Europe quietly entered into a combination of commercial treaties. The Powers concerned were Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Belgium, and Switzerland. The moving spirit was Germany, whose Chancellor, Caprivi, frankly admitted that a desire to strengthen the Triple Alliance was one of the main objects to be attained. That alliance was for the preservation of peace, "but when we conclude such an alliance of peace we cannot carry on a commercial war with our allies." This ended the commercial iso-

lation of the German Empire which had been one of the cardinal principles of Bismarck's policy. Doubtless the experience of fourteen years had enforced the necessity of wider markets for German industries, and had demonstrated the ease with which the protected manufacturers had combined and exacted prices which with freer outside competition they would never have been able to obtain. High profits had attracted new capital until the productive capacity of existing works and mills was beyond the consuming ability of the home markets ; and the duties on materials hindered or prevented an export trade. "Germany was restricted to her own markets, which became replete with over-production."¹

It was now that France realized the advantage to be derived from the much abused treaty of Frankfort. The very clause of that treaty which the French had denounced and were quite ready to go to war to break, the clause mutually granting the most-favored-nation treatment to the contracting states, gave to France all the concessions obtained by Germany in her new commercial treaties save a few exceptions. It was this alone that prevented such a customs union of central Europe as would isolate France commercially. It was only when agreements were made with other countries like Italy, Spain or the United States, that French interests would suffer, for the most-favored-nation clause would not cover advantages secured from them. We may also note a distinct advance in the new German treaties towards a better commercial understanding with her neighbors. The freight rates on railroads were regulated by the treaties, and foreign goods were subject to the same treatment as domestic, thus doing away with the use made by Bismarck of the railroad rates for restricting or

¹ Caprivi.

prohibiting the carriage of imported products. For twelve years, the duration of the treaties, commerce would not be subject to sudden changes in duties or railway tariffs, and the merchant would enjoy a reasonable certainty in his forecasts of prices and profits.

From another point of view the German treaties are worthy of study. The reductions in duties were not very large or many. Of three hundred items included, the duties on one hundred and ninety were not altered. But raw materials were freed from duties, and the country gained by the certainty of free coal, minerals, flax, wool, hair, skins, raw silk, and rags; and by reduced duties on chemicals and machinery, so essential to manufacturers. Even pig iron and steel rails were given lower duties, a recognition of a greater ability in the iron industry to meet foreign competition. Finally the articles wheat and rye could be made subjects of treaty reduction; and a conventional rate of 3 marks 50 pf. against a general rate of 5 marks, favored Austria-Hungary until 1894, when Russia obtained the same reduction upon her grain. Other agricultural products such as flour, wine, cattle and wood, the very articles which France refused to treat upon, were also open to concessions. It would appear that the German statesmen had carefully studied the French commercial policy and deliberately rejected its essential features. This makes the German tariff of 1901 all the more remarkable.

With these two policies before them,—France adopting extreme protection and commercial isolation, and Germany entering upon a conciliatory plan,—the other countries were divided in their imitation. In 1891 Switzerland, hitherto always free from strong protectionist leanings, voted by a referendum the protectionist tariff accepted by the Federal Assembly. Spain adopted

a minimum tariff even higher than that of France and refused to make any concession. Portugal denounced all her treaties of commerce, and applied her general tariff to all countries. The offer by France of her minimum tariff in exchange for the most-favored-nation treatment, but with a stipulation that the concession should be revocable by the French government on twelve months notice, was not acceptable to Europe. The offers of Germany were more tempting, and from Russia alone did France receive any encouragement, an encouragement which was to carry its price.

The tariff of 1891, and the reappearance of Germany among the Powers having commercial treaties, altered the economy of Europe so far as it could be modified by treaty. The Triple Alliance was now something more than a political combination; it had behind it commercial and financial bonds and possibilities. France was isolated; involved in tariff wars with Switzerland, Italy and Spain, in 1893, and bound to Russia by money as well as by sentimental ties. Russia, in pursuing a policy which involved radical protection to the industries established on her territory by foreign capital, increased the rate of her tariffs until first the suspicions and then the hostility of Germany were aroused. A short tariff war, during which both countries lost heavily, ended in a better understanding than had existed since 1882, and in a commercial treaty by which Russian grain was placed upon the same footing in German markets as the grain of Austria-Hungary. The treaty, published in February, 1894, to take effect March 20th, was opposed by the farmers of Germany, who maintained that any concessions to Russia must injure, even destroy, their interests.

In 1895 the tariff war between France and Switzer-

land was brought to an end, but the condition elsewhere indicated the unrest which had settled upon Europe in these years of stagnating trade and general depression. Germany sharpened an instrument of retaliation against discriminating duties on the part of other powers. On May 18, 1895, a law was promulgated to the following effect: "Dutiable goods proceeding from states that treat German ships or products less favorably than those of other states may, in so far as existing treaties are not thereby violated, be burdened with a surtax ranging up to 100 per cent. of the tariff duty imposed on such goods. Goods free of duty in virtue of the tariff may, under the same conditions, be burdened with a duty not exceeding 20 per cent. *ad valorem*."

This instrument was soon put to the test. In 1896 Spain rejected a commercial treaty offered by Germany, and in consequence Germany raised by fifty per cent. the duties on goods imported from Spain. It was a significant act when England denounced her existing treaties with Germany and Belgium, because they obliged her to share with those countries any advantages in preferential tariffs her colonies might grant.

The last step in this essay is the tariff now pending in Germany, which has been forced upon the country by the "agrarians", the large land owners and their following. Industry has been pushed so far that over production in the great lines has become an insuperable difficulty against controlling with profit the domestic market. No combinations, syndicates or cartels, have succeeded in modifying this condition of increasing strain, and neither colonial nor foreign markets have taken the surplus product. The persistent agrarians had anticipated any action on tariff or commercial treaties by securing a report from an official committee

favoring higher duties upon grain. The warnings of 1891 were forgotten, and the ministerial description of Germany's economy was passed over, though more true in 1900 than in 1890. "Germany is now a manufacturing country of the first rank, with a rapidly increasing population, no longer able to produce all the raw material she requires, and having a large surplus of manufactures, for which she must find foreign markets." Having won a victory on a meat inspection bill, which virtually restricted within very narrow limits, if indeed it did not prohibit the importation of American corned beef, canned meats and sausages, the agrarians demanded a like prohibitive duty on grain. The existing rates upon wheat, rye and oats are to be largely increased to serve as minimum rates, or the lowest admissible in commercial treaties. The maximum rates are prohibitive, and there are no minimum rates on animals and meats. It is not strange that such a measure, even as a suggestion, should excite strong opposition at home and abroad, as it is a menace to industrial power and a threat to friendly relations with commercial neighbors. When the measure was informally accepted by Count von Bülow, the true extent of the feeling became known. Russia, Austria-Hungary and Italy at once threatened retaliation, and the matter is now pending.

What is significant for our purpose is the practical elimination of the most-favored-nation clause in commercial treaties. After 1860 it seemed to be the very corner stone of trade agreements. In 1901 it exists only in a few remaining treaties, more as a relic of the past than as an active agency of the present.

I have thus traced all too briefly the more important incidents connected with the recent experiences of certain nations of Europe in tariffs and commercial treaties.

Is it possible to illustrate or explain the economy of these and other nations by the results of these experiences? A trial at least may be made.

Customs tariffs may be explained and defended upon fiscal or upon political grounds. They may be framed and imposed for revenue or for protection, or for a mixed reason, as revenue with incidental protection. These phases have been so thoroughly threshed out in our own politics that the distinctive qualities of each description need not detain us here. One fact is emphasized in the European experience, the desire of each of the nations to protect against foreign competition its own producers and manufacturers, and especially its agricultural interests. Whether it is France, whose wheat fields have until recent years yielded sufficient for the consumption of its nearly stationary population; Germany, who became an industrial nation before 1880, and with a population rapidly increasing from year to year began to depend upon other countries for its food supplies; or Russia, distinctly an agricultural country, but forced by frequent recurrence of famine to harbor its own produce—in one and all, the question of food is a serious commercial problem. It has become all the more serious because of the great political power wielded by the "agrarian party", the party of land owners and cultivators who demand not only that the home market shall be reserved to them, but that the price of wheat in that market shall be satisfactory to them, no matter what it would be under perfectly unrestricted competition, and without regard to the hostility aroused in other nations. The rise in the duty on wheat in twenty years in France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Spain, from a merely nominal rate to one that is a serious ob-

stacle to free movement in grain, is eloquent proof of the extent to which this policy has been carried.

The result is a contradiction in terms. Agriculture is limited by the quantity and capability of the land open to cultivation. and the law of diminishing returns applies too rigidly to permit the realization of the intentions of the legislator who seeks to inject an artificial stimulus into the utilization of land. In 1875 the area of France under wheat was 6,946,981 hectares ; in 1898 it was 6,963,711 hectares. The change in area was small, but by better methods of cultivation the yield in a good year was increased about one fifth. This improvement can hardly be assigned to the effect of the duty, because the duty was intended to maintain prices, and prices have steadily fallen. Before the short crops of the last half of the period 1871-1880 had raised the price of wheat, the import price was 25 francs the quintal. In the last half of the period 1891-1900 it was about 23 francs, but the prices were those of years of failure and heavy importations. In the first half of that decade 16 francs was considered a fair quotation. In Germany and Italy the tendency has been no different, but much wheat land has gone out of cultivation.

An historical parallel may be drawn. The farmers of Italy under the Roman Empire were brought to ruin by the free largesses of grain in Rome. Even with slave labor they could not compete with the grain fields of Sicily, Egypt and northern Africa. As a result the inhabitants left the country regions, and flocked to the city, where they became a congested mass of pauperism, a menace to the state and an increasingly heavy burden to support and keep amused. As there were no industries in Rome, this proletariat could not be employed productively, and only by removing them into the

provinces, by colonizing them, could the pressure be relieved. The low-priced or free grain from the provinces accounted for the depopulation of the rural parts of Italy.

Is not this much the situation in Europe to day in spite of all the efforts of government to introduce a corrective? Low cost grain and meats from India, America and Australia, have made agriculture in Europe unprofitable in certain of its great lines of production. The farm is no longer a source of profit and the cities offer greater attractions. The encouragement of industries gives employment to a part of this moving population, emigration is quite as important a factor. What Rome accomplished deliberately and by force, economic forces work quietly and peaceably at the present day, and upon a scale never possible among the ancients. The entire movement of the barbarians from the north on to the Empire sinks into insignificance by the side of ten years migration among the nations of Europe.

In seeking to protect productive interests, other than agricultural there are rigid limits, natural limits as a rule, to the extent of development possible. For example, it would be hardly justifiable to conceive any notable expansion of the iron production of France. In 1880, the iron ore mined in that country was 2,874,263 tons; in 1898 it was 4,731,394 tons, an increase of over 60 per cent. The German production of iron increased in the same period 120 per cent. No amount of stimulus seems able to raise Italian industry beyond a moderate degree of activity. The character of the country and the qualities of the people militate against development, and we find true pauperized peoples in the European family. They make a living, but anything beyond that is acquired at tremendous cost. That such

peoples should wish to enter into the industrial race, and seek to become industrially independent and even aggressive, is misplaced ambition, certain to react to their lasting injury.

In place of differentiation of product we see each nation seeking to develop the very interests that will antagonize similar interests in their neighbors. And when the rivalry becomes conscious, the government is called upon to interfere and to grant bounties or subsidies to further the competition. Look at the situation of beet-root sugar in Europe to-day, and attempt to explain it upon any reasonable ground, fiscal or commercial. Each nation has sought to supply its own needs, and carrying the production too far, has been obliged to look for foreign markets. Each nation seeks to obtain a revenue from the consumption at home, but cannot tax what is exported, for that would destroy the export interest upon the continuance of which the industry depends for existence. Each nation has become so involved in a mass of fiscal and commercial regulation that no common understanding is possible, and it is hardly possible to comprehend the detail of the regulation and its effect upon exporter and consumer. Many international conferences have been held upon this subject without result, and the almost yearly change in rate of excise or system of drawback prevents a proper understanding of the actual duties charged and bounties, open or concealed, on exports granted.

The same desire to possess a home and export interest in the face of general foreign competition is shown in other lines. The duties on textiles have been framed to favor the domestic manufacture for export to foreign markets; the absence of duties on raw materials has been imposed by this fact of competition. Germany

could not tax cotton and wool, if France and Great Britain admitted these articles free, and no system of drawbacks could compensate for such duties. The duties upon so general an article of use as mineral oil, or upon flour, to maintain a local refining or milling industry, are patent protection for a specific purpose. The general tendency to adopt shipping bounties is of the same nature as the beet-root sugar policy, and may lead to the same costly race for supremacy in national shipping and for competition in the international carriage of goods.

This encouragement of home interests does not stop with home conditions, but soon outruns the needs of the domestic markets. Hence the necessity for obtaining national markets in other parts of the world, colonies, or selling in foreign open markets. In the latter case the competition of other countries is encountered; in the former, colonial markets are usually closed markets, open on favorable terms to national ships and goods, but closed to the ships and products of others. What has been the basis of international agreements for the past twenty years, but the desire to obtain markets, exclusive markets? France in Tonquin, Germany in the Pacific islands, the delimitation of Africa, and the threatened partition of China, one and all had for an aim an outlet for the produce of home manufactures. France applies her general tariff to her colonies and monopolizes their import trade. As a compensation she grants certain favors to colonial goods in her home markets, with a result of becoming embroiled in a tariff war with Brazil. Wherever pressure can be exerted, in Turkey, China and until very recently in Japan, the tariffs are framed, not for the benefit of those nations in tutelage, but for Europe and the United States. Markets are

the general need, and enormous risks are run to secure them.

For nearly a quarter of a century the three great powers of continental Europe have been busily engaged in erecting tariff walls to protect their trade, and the smaller powers have imitated them. From the standpoint of an outsider it would appear that this policy is based upon a wrong principle, which if carried much further must bring the elaborate structure of protective tariffs, hitherto tempered by commercial treaties to a crash. Entire self-sufficiency can be secured by no one of the powers, and no matter how far the colonial policy is pushed, there will always be a dependence upon foreign products and upon foreign markets. The inwardness of the question was stated by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, when he argued that "it is of the highest importance to the welfare of all classes in this country that the main sources of your supply of corn should be derived from domestic agriculture. You are entitled to place such a price on foreign corn as is equivalent to the burden borne by the agriculturalist. . . . I certainly do consider that it is for the interest of all classes that we should pay a small additional sum upon our own domestic produce, in order that we may thereby establish a security against those calamities that would ensue if we became altogether, or in a great part, dependent on foreign countries for our supply."¹ History has made strange comment upon this utterance, and yet there is a Peel today in every country whispering the hope of self-sufficiency, a hope that has never yet been satisfied, and with the increasing complexity of world relations becomes more and more impossible.

¹ Quoted in *Quarterly Review*, vol. 189:368.

The mercantile system broke down of its own weight, and that system was based upon high tariffs, a net work of prohibitions, a widely applied system of bounties on production, and export, and navigation laws. The stage was reached when diplomatic relations were controlled by commercial rather than political reasons, if, indeed, we may separate the two. That fiction of the balance of power, useful to the strong and grasping, but ruinous to the weak, was a convenient excuse for maintaining an artificial distribution of authority of governments. It could not produce even a working distribution of industrial and commercial power or privilege, any more than did that logical but monstrous conception of a "continental system" which Napoleon raised to the forefront of his military operations. The ingenuity of the mercantilists and the might of Napoleon were swept away by the mightier and more ingenious development of commerce and manufactures which would not endure such attempts to restrict their growth, or to direct their channels. It seems to me that the world is marching into the repetition of the errors of a restrictive policy, and in this course the United States is among the chief sinners. For it no longer has the excuses which were urged when production was on a comparatively small scale, the machinery of commerce imperfectly organized, and the world not parceled out to such a degree as to leave no large territory subject to acquisition and free colonization. It raises food more than sufficient for its population, its sources of raw materials in coal, iron, copper and cotton are greater than those of any manufacturing nation, its command of high qualities of labor is more varied than elsewhere, its machinery for transportation is highly organized, and improved year by year, and its manufactures are favored in every possible

way. It is surely shortsighted policy to continue unnecessary protection and seeking to monopolize all branches of production by excluding foreign products. No general tariff law has been framed in our Congress without a reference to some special country or description of product. It was England, or the pauper labor of Europe, or Canada, or the cheap products of Asia, any excuse however flimsy served the purpose. It will be Cuba and the Philippines. And now the historian reviews these arguments of the past with wonder that they could ever seriously have been urged, much less believed. The gongs of a Chinese army are not more deafening than these war cries, or more useless in the end. The blatant boasts of superiority are yet to be measured by the severe tests of depression.

We have heard much of a combination among European nations against the commercial interests of the United States, and officialdom has shown periodic tremors over the possibilities involved in such a combination. But if our sketch of tariff legislation and treaty practice shows clearly any one fact, it is the utter impossibility of such a customs or commercial union. It may have been possible in 1860; it had become improbable in 1872; and with each succeeding decade the improbability became the greater, until it has now reached the stage of the impossible. There are too many oppositions to be overcome, too many competing interests to be harmonized, too many political considerations to be altered, to allow a general consensus of opinion and action. Is it possible to picture an agreement upon wheat, sugar or shipping bounties? With the growth of tariff and bounties, interests have grown into a power that would prevent

concessions and mutual sacrifices, even in the face of a "common enemy". The nearest realization of a European Zollverein was after the French tariff of 1891, when the commercial connections of Germany would have isolated France had it not been for the saving clause in the treaty of Frankfort, the most-favored-nation clause.

Where mischief may be done is in the isolated action of each nation of Europe against the trade of the United States. The damage to our interests may be all the greater because of the conscious imitation of regulation by more than one power. To conciliate opposition by wise concession is the part of true statesmanship; to offer a better use of our undeniably great resources is the true economic policy of the United States, and this betterment cannot be obtained by wilfully closing the best markets to our products. The tariff should not be an implement of offence, of commercial war, but one of revenue and commercial peace. It is never more dangerous than when raised to a fetich and held to be the cause of economic advancement.

DISCUSSION.

HENRY C. EMERY : Mr. Ford's paper presents so clear and accurate an account of the recent tendencies in the commercial policy of European countries that there is almost nothing to add to his statement in a brief discussion of this character. It would be uninteresting to add more minute details to his admirable outline, which in itself leaves little room for discussion. For this reason I am tempted to change what I had in mind to say, and to treat the subject of commercial policy partly from the point of view of the discussion which followed Mr. Adams's paper. The two papers read this morning seem indeed to me to illustrate well two radically opposite points of view. It is a common statement that the last few years have witnessed a revival of mercantilist ideas, not only in the policies of nations, but also in the writings of many economists and historians. This class of ideas is represented in the paper of Mr. Adams, which, although to my mind exaggerated in tone, is in line, except for his treatment of the precious metals, with much recent writing abroad, especially in Germany. Mr. Ford, on the other hand, although not dealing with theory, evidently represents the free trade view of international relations, and it is in reference to economic ideas rather than tariff rates that I wish to consider his paper.

In the first place, commercial policy means something more than the question of protective tariffs and reciprocity treaties. It includes the whole question of how far the power of the state can in any way be exercised to secure economic advantage to the individual nation. The essence of the older mercantilism, stripped of its temporary ex-

aggregations, was that the economic welfare of the state can be advanced by the use of political power, and that, conversely, the political power of the state depends upon economic conditions. That is also the idea of many modern writers, and is evidently the idea of Mr. Adams ; that is, that the time inevitably comes in the history of a great growing nation when the continuance of its economic progress will call for an exercise of all its political, or even military, resources. It is not necessary to point out the difference between this idea and the free trade idea. It may be worth while, however, to recall the different conditions under which the free trade movement has appeared in different countries. In England the free trade theory was put into force, and became a practical policy, under the pressure of a strong business party. It was an economic necessity at the existing stage of English industry that foreign trade should be relieved of all restrictions, and that the English manufacturer should not be discouraged by the effort to maintain food prices for the protection of the agricultural interests. In the United States the conditions were, of course, just the reverse, and the practical backing of the free trade theory has come from the southern cotton growers (especially prominent before the civil war), and the western grain producers, both of whom have wanted the freest outlet for exports. In France, on the contrary, the so-called free trade period, that is, the period of commercial treaties, was the result of the influence of one man ; and, as Mr. Ford points out, the Cobden treaty was forced by Napoleon III upon a people predominantly protectionist in their views. In Germany the free trade movement was closely connected with the agitation of the doctrinaire liberals, a name that may fairly be applied to them, despite their great services,

in that they aimed to apply the whole liberal system of English politics to their own country, without appreciating the great importance of historical national tradition. Free trade was an accepted part of English liberalism, and the growth of the idea in Germany was primarily academic. The movement was supported by the landholders at first, but it is fair to say that there was little strong popular feeling for either side of the question. The coincidence of the removal of the iron duties and the trade depression of the seventies started a reaction, and with the protective tariff of 1879 the new era was inaugurated. It came to be the feeling that a system of free trade, though beneficial to England, where it had been adopted on practical grounds, was certain to prove injurious to a weaker country like Germany, where the industries competing with those of England were being worsted in the struggle. It is not necessary to go into a discussion of these views. Suffice it to say that they were quickly utilized by Bismarck to effect the necessary parliamentary combination, and that since the passing of the act of 1879 the strict free trade idea has had no considerable backing. Speaking broadly, it may be said that, whereas from 1848 to 1860 the leading minds in Germany inclined to free trade, since 1880 exactly the reverse has been true. On the general principle of protection in its widest sense there has been a union of political parties, and a unity of feeling among most economists. This union, however, has been sadly shattered by the proposed agrarian duties. The industrial interests, which formerly had supported moderate agrarian protection, are aroused to fight what seems a distinct attack upon them. They do not demand a reduction of existing tariffs, but merely that they be not raised. The agrarians, however, have

some supporters among the well-known economists. I happened to be present at the meeting of the Evangelical-Social Congress in Leipsic in 1897, when Dr. Oldenberg read his famous address on *Deutschland als Industriestaat*, which has been the starting point of most of the discussion of commercial policy in Germany since that time. As is well known, Oldenberg drew a dark picture of the trend of German development towards increased industrialization, and held up the ideal of "economic independence." He was in this instance the academic Sir Robert Peel of whom Mr. Ford spoke. Oldenberg has been well supported by Wagner and Seering among others, but the preponderance of opinion has been strongly against him. It has been vigorously maintained in opposition that the time when Germany can be "independent," in the sense of furnishing her own food and raw materials, has irrevocably passed; that to attempt to return to such a condition would be to limit the growth of population; and that the true policy to adopt is one that will increase commerce, and give the greatest opportunity to population to expand. But this opposition is based as much upon the mercantile theory as the other. It is in no sense a free trade opposition. Their ideal is that of commercial supremacy, and they urge as a means to this end a vigorous trade, colonial, and naval policy. Some of the most vigorous writings on this subject were contributed to the popular propaganda in favor of increased naval appropriations, and the question of war ships is looked upon as an item in a general commercial policy. Political and military power to secure commercial progress,—this is the essence of mercantilism.

I believe, then, that the changing economic conditions, and the conflicting economic theories, to which I

have referred only briefly, must be carefully studied in any consideration of commercial policy abroad. The theories may be wrong, but they are likely to prove too important in the history of the future lightly to be brushed aside. For illustration, consider the attitude of a German economist toward Mr. Ford's remarks on emigration. Roman farmers were ruined by free grain, there were no industries to employ them, and emigration was necessary. The same, he says, is true of Germany to-day, and the solution is in the inevitable emigration to other countries. But that is just the one solution that the German will not listen to. He cherishes the idea of a Germany great among the nations of the world, and he not unnaturally believes that if his country sends annually much of her best blood to increase the vigor of her "rivals," that her position among the great powers will soon be lost. Hence a policy of high agricultural protection is advocated, or else a policy of so stimulating commerce that the surplus can be supported at home. The free trade solution, it is urged, takes no account of the ideal of national greatness.

It has been suggested in the discussion that there is plenty of room for all nations, and that America is the best friend of Europe, although the latter fails to recognize it. There certainly is room enough unless several nations insist upon expanding indefinitely, in which case the statement is doubtful. It is, indeed, to be hoped that all nations will hereafter live together in harmony; but is it not rather a moral ideal that a practical likelihood? I earnestly believe that the idea of national rivalry has been greatly exaggerated, but I also believe that the idea has been and will continue to be a potent force in determining international relations. Right or wrong,

the importance of it should be recognized. Personally I am enough of a mercantilist to believe that in past history the economic interests of nations have sometimes really clashed and that these conflicting interests have determined conflicts of a more destructive kind, and I cannot share the optimistic confidence of those who believe that the history of the future will see no repetition of such occurrences. It appears to me quite likely that the continued growth of modern nations may lead somewhere and sometime to similar conflicts.

It has also been suggested that this theory assumes falsely that economic welfare is the highest good. Such an assumption is doubtless false, but the idea of economic welfare, and of the way to secure it, has played a role of the first importance in history. The economist is primarily concerned with problems of material welfare. Again I confess myself enough of a mercantilist to want my own country to be economically great. I would rather see her great and prosperous together with other countries than at the expense of other countries; but I cannot see why we should be afraid to say that, if the unfortunate time should ever come, when other nations shall resort to violence to oppose our peaceful progress, this nation will be ready to protect, by diplomacy or by force, the prosperity she has justly earned.

BROOKS ADAMS: I wish to say a word on the paper of my friend, Mr. Ford, and to express my entire agreement with it. I can see no antagonism whatever between Mr. Ford's views and my own. I believe that Europe has been forced into its policy by necessities of self preservation. All that he has so well described is a necessity. Men do not make tariffs for fun. It is not an academic business we are discussing now. It is a

question of life and death. The man who is undersold in the end must die. The first thing we have to do is to live. If another man competes with us we undersell him if we can, and if we cannot we crush him, or else he crushes us. Now there is no use blinking this, and Mr. Ford has put it in a most direct way. He has shown that these people have been attempting by tariffs to become self-supporting in order to prevent themselves from being undersold, and they have failed. He says that necessity compels them to this course. They have to go elsewhere for their food and for their raw material, and it is the only way they can get outside of their own country and buy, because the country which has the raw material does not have to buy. It has the advantage, and therefore it can undersell its neighbors, and the moment you are undersold that moment you can not pay for your food and you starve. You see it in Russia to-day. Now it is this very necessity which Mr. Ford has pointed out which I believe in, which everybody I think who has practically wandered about the world in late years sees in operation. It is this necessity of having the means of life which is causing the tariff wars everywhere. Mr. Ford says the policy is going to break down. When it fails in Russia they have got to go outside for their bread; and what does that mean? It means that the whole economic system of this world is crumbling; crumbling under competition. Now I do not pretend to say that there will be war, but I say there has never yet been a time when this condition of things has been reached when there has not been a war, because men will fight before they die.

CHARLES W. MIXTER : One idea that has been made prominent this morning, and one constantly seen in

books and newspapers, is the idea that in Europe they have come to their physical limit,—a limit in respect to industrial resources. Now it seems to me that it is the limit of government—a political, not a physical, barrier—which immediately stands in the way of European countries making very rapid progress.

In a few months there will be a book published on German railroads,—something new in that line. It has been my privilege to talk many times with the author, and the chief thing I have obtained from these conversations is the conviction that there are hundreds of millions of wealth which are *not* being created in Germany because of the exorbitant and inflexible charges on the railroads which, in turn, are caused by the thoroughly vicious system with which the railroads are tied up. It sounds like a fairy tale to say that the government can not reduce the charges on the state railways, but such is the fact. It is for that reason that it is actually paralleling the railroads with canals. At present by far the greater part of the bulky, low-value traffic goes by the canals and rivers. The railroads carry little besides high-class freight and passengers.

What all this means to the industrial development of Germany—the non-creation of wealth there—I need not point out in detail; it is enough to suggest it. If another Bismarck were to arise with the same grasp and power in internal affairs, that the earlier Bismarck had in foreign policy, it would be possible to make reforms which would enable Germany, for a considerable period, to progress as rapidly as we do.

EMORY R. JOHNSON: It is sometimes unwise to let an error pass without attention, even in a running discussion. I wish merely to state that the greater bulk of

the heavier traffic in Germany moves by rail and not by water. If we were to study the amount of coal and iron ore in the western part of Germany, that statement would be fully substantiated. Of course there is a large movement by water, and the traffic that moves by water is of this heavier traffic, but that which moves by water is small in comparison with that which moves by rail. I have no doubt that within a few years the technical development of the German railroads, which are somewhat behind those of the United States, will permit large reductions in the cost, and consequently in the charges, for carriage by rail; but it is a decidedly fallacious statement to say that the greater part of the bulk of traffic in Germany moves by water at the present time.

SOME THEORETICAL POSSIBILITIES OF A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

BY THOMAS NIXON CARVER.

The wisdom of reopening the tariff question to scientific discussion can be denied only on the ground that economic science has said its last word on the subject. In view of the rapid development of the science during the last twenty years, and the light which recent analyses have thrown on other questions, it would be surprising if some new light had not been thrown upon this question. It would savor somewhat of Bourbonism to assume beforehand that further discussion of a question of this kind is superfluous. Certainly the mere fact that the question happens to be a political one can be no sufficient reason why it should be ignored by a student of economics.

In a paper of this length it will be manifestly impossible to discuss every phase of the question. Therefore it will be narrowed down to the three following questions: 1. Who pays the tariff? 2. Can a protective tariff raise wages? 3. Does a protective tariff necessarily attract labor and capital from the more productive industries into the less productive industries? As a partial answer to each of these questions it will be the purpose of this paper to support the three following propositions:

1. A tariff duty is not necessarily paid by the home consumer.

2. A protective tariff may be so framed as to raise wages.

3. A protective tariff may be so framed as to attract

labor and capital from the less productive into the more productive industries—judged from the standpoint of the community rather than from that of the individual business man.

¹ Whether the home consumer pays the tariff duty or not depends upon whether or not the tariff duty raises the price, in the home market, of the article upon which it is collected. Whether it raises the price or not depends upon whether it reduces the supply of the article in the home market or not ;—it being assumed that the duty will not affect the demand. The effect of a duty is ordinarily to reduce the amount of the article imported. The question is then, will the home product then increase, as a result of the duty, sufficiently to counterbalance the diminution in the amount imported? If the conditions are such that a tariff duty will occasion an increase in the domestic product equal to the diminution in the amount imported, the duty will occasion no change in the total supply on the home market, and consequently no change in the price of the article. But if the domestic product does not increase sufficiently to offset entirely the diminution in the amount imported, there will be a decrease in the total supply on the home market and, consequently, a rise in price.

The question then becomes: Under what conditions will a tariff duty occasion an increase in the domestic product sufficient to counterbalance the diminution in the amount imported? If the duty is laid upon an article not producible at home under existing conditions and at existing prices, there can manifestly be no such increase in the domestic product, and the price will rise

¹ This is in part a reproduction of the author's argument on the same subject which forms a part of an article on the shifting of taxes, published in the *Yale Review*, Nov., 1896.

in consequence of the duty. How large a share of the duty will be added to the price of the article will depend upon the comparative elasticity of the demand and the supply. If the demand is highly elastic while the supply is inelastic, only a small proportion of the duty will be added to the price. That is to say, an elastic demand means that if there is a slight rise in the price of the article to the consumer it would cause a great falling off in the amount purchased. In other words the consumer may be said to have considerable power of resistance. On the other hand, if a considerable fall in the price which the producer can get will cause only a slight falling off in the amount produced, as will happen when there are considerable differences in the cost of producing different parts of the supply, the supply is inelastic. When the demand is elastic and the supply relatively inelastic, the burden of a tariff duty will be borne largely by the foreign producer and only to a slight extent by the home consumer. Reversing the argument we will reach the conclusion that when the demand for the article is inelastic and the supply relatively elastic, the burden of the duty will fall largely upon the home consumer. When both the supply and the demand are very elastic a tariff duty will tend to be prohibitive. That is to say, if a slight rise in the price to the consumer would cause a very large falling off in the amount consumed, and a slight fall in the price to the producer would cause a great falling off in the amount sent to the tariff country, manifestly neither the producer nor the consumer can be made to pay the tariff to any great extent, but the article will practically cease to be imported.

If the article is produced at home, but under the law of expanding cost, commonly confused with the law of

diminishing returns, the presumption is that as much is already being produced at any given time as can be at existing prices. The one condition for an increase in the home product is that there shall be a rise in price. It is evident that the domestic product could not increase sufficiently to keep the prices down for the reason that if the prices were kept down there could be no increase in the home production. A duty on such an article would raise the price of the article, and be borne, in part at least, by the home consumer.

In case the duty is laid upon an article which is produced at home under the law of diminishing cost—provided its production has not been monopolized—a different result follows. In a case of this kind, the shutting out of a part of the foreign supply increases the opportunities for the marketing of the home product; and since the home product can be increased without any increase in cost, there is nothing to prevent it from increasing sufficiently to offset entirely any diminution in the amount imported. In this case there is no reason to expect that the price will be higher under the tariff than it would be without the tariff.

The shutting out of a part of the foreign supply may be said to be analagous to a normal growth in the consumption of the article,—at least in so far as it affects the home producers. They find an increase in the consumption of their products, and it makes no difference to them whether this is due to a decrease in importation or to a growth in the normal consumption of the article. Few economists would contend that a normal growth in the consumption of an article which could be indefinitely increased at diminishing cost would cause the article to sell at a higher price. It is the position of this paper that there is no better ground for contending that a tariff

duty on an article already producible at home under the law of diminishing cost would raise the price of the article ; or that when there is no natural check, such as increasing cost, to the home production, there is no reason why the home production may not increase sufficiently entirely to make up for any falling off in the amount imported.¹

If, however, the article is one whose home production is in the hands of a monopoly, the shutting out of a part of the foreign product would increase the monopoly's power over the home market and give it an opportunity to exact a somewhat higher price than would otherwise be possible. There is a very wide-spread belief that a monopoly fixes the price of its product according to a different principle from that which is followed by a single producer in a competitive industry, but such is not the case. In either case the price is fixed at the point which will yield the largest net income to the producer. The difference is that the individual producer in a competitive industry has to face a different set of conditions from that which confronts the monopolists. The competitive producer knows that if he charges too high a price for his products his sales will fall off rapidly, not only through the unwillingness of the public to buy the product, but also through the underselling of his competitors. If he held a monopoly he would know that a similar rise in the price of the product would cause his sales to fall off less rapidly, because only one, namely the former, of those two forces would operate. While both the monopolist and the competitive producer try to sell at the point of highest net return, that point is likely to be somewhat different

¹ In fact there are reasons for believing that the price would fall. Cf. Marshall : *Principles of Economics*, 4th Ed., p. 525.

in the two cases, because of the differences in the conditions which confront the two producers. The competitive producer has two checks on high prices where the monopolist has one. Hence monopoly price is likely to be higher than competitive price. A tariff duty which shuts out a part of the foreign product, removes one of the checks upon the power of a monopoly to charge high prices, and changes the location of the point of highest net return.

Whether a protective tariff can increase the price of labor or not depends first upon whether or not it is possible, by means of a tariff, to increase the demand for labor relatively to the demand for other factors of production. If this can be done labor will get a larger share of the total product of the industry of the community. This alone would not prove that the individual laborer would in the end be better off. In the first place, the supply of labor might increase correspondingly, either through immigration or natural increase; in which event there would be no increase in individual wages, even though a larger share of the total product did go to the payment of labor. In the second place, the tariff might diminish the total product of industry so that, even though the laborers did get a larger share of the total, the absolute amount going to them as wages might be no greater than, indeed not so great as, before.

As to the first objection, it needs only to be said that if the tariff increases the demand for labor that will tend to raise wages. Whether or not this tendency will be counteracted by immigration or natural increase depends upon other conditions. If the tariff stimulates immigration or increases the birth rate over what it

would be without a tariff, the presumption is that it does so because it increases the demand for labor and raises wages, which is all that this paper contends for. Wages may or may not be subsequently reduced to the old level by other forces counteracting the tendency of the tariff. As the second condition, it is hoped that the third part of this paper will show that a protective tariff does not necessarily diminish the total product of industry.

Owing to the limited space available it is necessary to assume two premises as the basis of the argument for the proposition that a protective tariff may be so framed as to raise wages within the country. (1) The three factors of production, land, labor and capital, are combined in different proportions in the production of different commodities. (2) A selected industry may be stimulated and made to grow by means of a protective tariff. Both these propositions could be proved did space allow, but neither is likely to be disputed by any considerable number. Assuming them to be true, it is only necessary to stimulate, by means of a protective tariff, the production of those articles into which labor enters as the principal factor, leaving unprotected those industries into which labor enters as a relatively less important factor. This is a process of artificial selection in which the variation which makes selection possible is found in the different proportions in which the three factors are combined in the different industries. The favorable variations, from the standpoint of the laboring class, are those industries in which labor is the relatively more important factor, and the unfavorable variations are those in which labor is the relatively less important factor. In order to favor the laboring class it is only

necessary to select the favorable variations, that is, to build up by artificial means those industries in which labor is the principal factor. Even though this should result in a corresponding injury to other industries, there would still remain a net gain to labor.

Let us suppose, by way of illustration, that in industry A, at a given period, the best results, from the standpoint of the entrepreneur, are ordinarily obtained by combining 1000 acres of land, 10 laborers and \$100,000 worth of capital. These yield a product worth \$20,000. In industry B, to get a product of the same value the best results would be obtained from combining the factors in the following proportions: 10 acres of land, 20 laborers and \$100,000 worth of capital. Wages and interest are assumed to be the same in both industries. For the sake of simplicity, capital is assumed to bear the same ratio to product in both industries, land and labor being the varying factors. By building up industry B, even at the expense of industry A, there will result a net increase in employment of labor, though a corresponding decrease in the employment of land. This increase in the employment of labor means an increase in the demand for labor, while the decrease in the employment of land means a decrease in the demand for land. The result of this situation would be that a larger share of the total product would go in the payment of wages and a smaller share in the payment of rent.¹

We need here to guard against the possibility that industry B while using fewer acres of land, might require a kind of land that is so very scarce that the rent charge would be higher than in A. But this is not a necessary

¹ This may possibly be made more concrete by means of the following table. I. represents the conditions as described above. II. represents

condition. It is quite conceivable that the two industries would use the same grade of land. It is even conceivable that industry B, in addition to using fewer acres, would also use a more abundant kind of land where rents were less per acre. The whole difficulty could be avoided by starting with the proposition that in different industries rent charges, wages, and interest, enter in varying proportions. Then by selecting for governmental favor those industries in which wages, rather than rent or interest, form the chief item of expense, the total industry of the country would be affected favorably from the standpoint of the wage receivers.

It goes without saying that an entirely different result would be obtained by selecting for governmental favor those industries in which rent or interest formed the chief item of expense:—a result advantageous to the landlord or the capitalist, but disadvantageous to the laborer. It must be confessed, also, that as protectionism has been applied in the past, especially in England before the repeal of the corn laws, this result was quite as frequently obtained as the other. There is some danger also that it will be so in the future, owing the situation after industry B has been expanded 50% and industry A has been correspondingly contracted.

I.

Industry A	1000 acres :	10 laborers :	\$100,000 capital :	\$20,000 product
" B	10 "	20 "	100,000 "	20,000 "
Totals	1010	30	\$200,000	\$40,000

II.

Industry A	500 acres :	5 laborers :	\$ 50,000 capital :	\$10,000 product
" B	15 "	30 "	150,000 "	30,000 "
Totals	515	35	\$200,000	\$40,000

This shows a decrease of 495 in the number of acres used and an increase of 5 in the number of men employed.

to the better lobbying facilities of the land-owning and capitalistic classes. But that is another matter.

The proposition that protection attracts labor and capital from the more productive to the less productive industries has long been one of the basic principles of the free trade school—the rock on which all protectionist theories were supposed to split. And it must be confessed that unless this position can be successfully assailed the free-trader will always have the advantage in the argument.

The difficulty with the proposition lies in the double meaning which is given to the word “productive”. In order to make a true proposition of it that word must be given a certain meaning; but in order to make it a conclusive argument it must have quite a different meaning. From the standpoint of the individual business man a “productive” industry is a “profitable”¹ industry, that is, an industry which offers the opportunity of making a surplus gain over the cost of running the business. From the standpoint of the community a productive industry is one which increases the sum total of utilities. It is the “profitableness” of the industry, rather than its “productiveness” in the latter sense, which causes labor and capital to go into it. It is only by defining “productive” as “profitable” that one can

¹ For want of a better term the words profit and profitable are used here in the more popular sense, which agrees with the use of the terms by the older writers on economics. Profit is made to include the surplus income of an industry over and above the cost of conducting it. In this broad sense it includes rent and every other form of surplus. A profitable industry would therefore be one which would yield a surplus income of some kind. This surplus is what attracts the director of industry and it is the surplus-producing power of an industry which determines whether or not labor and capital shall go into it.

support the proposition that labor and capital will seek those industries which are naturally most productive. In that sense, and in that sense alone, it is quite true that protection attracts labor and capital from the more productive to the less productive industries.

But in order to have any weight as an argument this proposition must mean that protection attracts labor and capital from those industries which create more utilities into those which create fewer utilities. That is to say, the word "productive" must mean something more than "profitable." The difficulty could be met only by showing that a "profitable" industry from the standpoint of the individual business man is always a "productive" industry from the standpoint of the community. If this cannot be shown it would mean that labor and capital, if left to themselves, will, in seeking the largest profits, sometimes go into the less "productive" industries. There would then be a possibility that protection or some other form of government interference might be able to attract labor and capital from the less productive industry whither it would naturally go in pursuit of profits, into a more productive industry whence it would naturally have been excluded by the smallness of the profits. This possibility would become a reality if the relative profitableness of the two industries could be reversed by some kind of government discrimination.

The question then becomes: Are the more "profitable" industries always the more "productive?" Manifestly not. Saying nothing of certain lines of business which are acquisitive in their nature and not productive at all, there are certain highly productive industries which have very little power of attracting individual enterprise.

To begin with an extreme case, there is the work of maintaining light-houses. This illustration is chosen, not because it is supposed to be typical of those industries which are fitted to receive protection, but solely because it serves to make clear that there may be a productive industry which offers no inducements for private enterprise. On the one hand this work has all the ear-marks of a productive industry. It produces a real utility: this utility is of a materialistic sort and not moral or social, as is that produced by educational and other similar institutions; and it is produced by purely mechanical processes. There is nothing in the nature of the utility produced, or its processes of production, to distinguish this from any money making business. On the other hand, this industry offers no incentive to private enterprise, that is, no opportunity for private profits, for the one sufficient reason that the producer cannot control his product. It will shine upon those who do not pay for it as well as upon those who do. He is therefore not in a position to exact a payment for his product corresponding to its utility.

It will doubtless be objected that this is a case calling for government ownership and operation rather than mere protection, and the point would be well taken. This is a business so completely devoid of opportunity for profitable enterprise that no kind of a protective tariff would be able to make it profitable. Nothing but a subsidy could induce private capital to go into it, and the subsidy would have to cover the whole cost. In that case the government might just as well, it may be maintained, own and carry on the business. But the difference between this industry and one which would lend itself to protective measures is one of degree only.

Industries differ widely in this particular, that,

whereas one, such as the maintenance of lighthouses, produces a utility that cannot be controlled at all in the interest of the owner; another produces a utility of such a nature that the owner can exact full payment from those who use it; while still another produces no utility at all but is purely acquisitive in its nature. An example of the last, not to come too near home, would be the mediæval baron who took possession of a natural ford, or a mountain pass, and set up his castle and went into the business of collecting toll of all who passed that way.¹ These three industries do not belong to sharply differentiated classes but they shade off gradually into one another. That is to say, there is a gradual shading off from the business which creates utilities far in excess of any amount which the owner of the business can collect, to the business which can collect a revenue far in excess of any utility actually created by it. Here again we have a form of variation which makes artificial selection possible, the favorable variations being those industries which come under the former description.

In considering this aspect of economic life too much has been usually assumed as to the harmony of interests among the different members of the community. Nothing is more fundamental in economic science than the

¹ This is a business to which the principle of 'charging what the traffic will bear' applies beautifully. What the traffic will bear is, in this case, determined by the superiority of the ford or pass over the poorest ford or pass over which traffic could afford to go. Let us suppose that instead of merely collecting toll the baron spends some trifling sum in the improvement of the passage, still charging what the traffic will bear. His business then becomes slightly productive but its productiveness is still small as compared with its profitableness. Then let us assume him gradually to increase his expenditures for improvement of the passage until the utility created approximates more and more nearly to the charges collected; at each stage of the process his business will represent some type of business actually carried on among us today.

proposition that there is an antagonism of interests among the different members of the community. If there were a complete harmony of interests, labor and capital might be expected to seek those industries which are most productive from the social standpoint. But, aside from the observable fact that labor and capital do nothing of the kind, it is a matter of common observation and experience, confirmed by reflective analysis, that there is no such harmony of human interests. One man's interest is served by having the labor and capital of the community directed in one line, another's by having them directed in quite a different line. More than that, there is great inequality among individuals in the power of giving direction to the industry of the community. The one who owns land or capital in addition to his own labor power is in better position, other things equal, to determine the direction of business activity than is the one who owns only his labor power. We therefore not only have the certainty that each individual will try to direct business activity in the line most conducive to his own interests and that in many cases his interests will not harmonize with the interests of the community, but also the certainty that the power to give this direction differs greatly among different individuals. Did we not know it as a matter of direct observation and experience, we might predict from these premises that the business activity of the community would not, in all cases, be directed in the most productive lines, and that therefore it would be possible, by some form of discrimination, to attract labor and capital from the less productive to the more productive industries.

The following illustration may add something to the concreteness of this conclusion. Let us suppose that

a certain tract of land had been devoted to cultivation of a fairly intensive kind and had been producing enough to pay the wages of 20 laborers, with something left over for rent. Through some change of circumstances the price of wool rises and it is found more profitable to use the land for wool growing. By turning the land into a sheep-run, 19 of the laborers may be dispensed with, and the saving in wages would more than measure the difference between the value of the wool crop and that of the present crop, so that a larger surplus would be left over as rent. There is little doubt that the land would then be devoted to the growing of wool. That would be to the interest of the landlord and against the interests of the 19 laborers, but the landlord is in a better position than they for determining the form of cultivation. There is also little doubt that this would be contrary to the interest of the community. Less wealth would be produced either for consumption or for international trade. Fewer people could be supported, or the same number would be more poorly supported, than formerly. If the 19 men thrown out of employment cannot find a place elsewhere, they will probably, since they want to live, offer their labor at lower wages—enough lower to enable the landlord to get as much rent from the more intensive form of cultivation as he might get by the less intensive form. Here we have the somewhat anomalous situation of an increase in the price of one of the products of industry causing a fall in the price of labor. The key to this anomaly is found in the fact that what is cost to one man is frequently gain to another. Now in this supposed case, which is not altogether a supposed case, there is little doubt that some form of discrimination in favor of the present crop and against wool, would

not only increase the relative share of the produce going to labor, but the absolute amount of the produce of the land.

And this is a rule which works both ways. In a community where land is extensively cultivated it is presumably because extensive cultivation produces the best results from the standpoint of the land owner. Any one of several conditions may induce him to change to intensive cultivation. (1) A fall in the price of labor; (2) a fall in the price of the products of extensive cultivation; (3) a rise in the price of products of intensive cultivation. There lies the opportunity for the protectionist. By some discrimination which will tend to increase the profitableness of the intensive product, or decrease, relatively at least, the profitableness of the extensive product, an absolutely larger and more valuable product might be created. This would support a larger number of people, or support them better. They would have a larger number of products either for consumption or for international trade. Labor and capital would have been attracted from the less productive to the more productive industry. Since a protective tariff is one means by which the relative profitableness of different industries may be changed, it follows that a protective tariff may be a means of increasing the total product of the industry of the community.

DISCUSSION.

GUY S. CALLENDER : Professor Carver judges rightly wherein the strength of the free trade position lies : it is in the claim that under the direction of private enterprise labor and capital, if free to move from one industry to another, tend to seek those industries that are most productive. It is, indeed, for the purpose of earning the largest profits that labor and capital are turned to any particular industry. The individual who controls them is seeking only his own advantage. But, as Adam Smith long ago pointed out, "he is led by an invisible hand" to promote also the economic welfare of the community ; because those industries that yield the largest profits are also the ones that in general yield the largest utility to the community—utility being used in a strict economic sense. It is natural to expect that a person seeking to provide a theoretical basis for the policy of protection will attack this time honored doctrine ; and nearly every protectionist from Hamilton and List to the present time has, in fact, done so. In the third and most important part of his paper Professor Carver admits that, unless it can be overthrown, the free trader must always have the advantage in the argument.

If I understand him, Professor Carver denies that there is any necessary connection between the "profitableness" of an industry and its "productivity"—that is, between its ability to yield profits to the persons carrying it on, and its ability to produce large utility to the community. I do not suppose he would deny that there are many industries in which "profitableness" and "productivity" are connected ; but he holds that there are

other industries in which there is no such connection, and that, therefore, labor and capital in seeking industries that yield large profits will leave undeveloped other industries that are more productive to the community. It is to prevent this neglect of productive industries for those more profitable but less productive that the protective policy may be legitimately applied. Now it seems to me that the value of this argument turns wholly upon the question of fact, whether this distinction of profitableness and productivity between industries be a true one; and, if so, whether industries that yield small profits but very large utility exist in any considerable number, and are of such a nature as to be capable of development by the protective policy. Upon these questions of fact the paper seems to me to be far from satisfactory. Professor Carver points out that there may be an industry which produces great utility to the community, but which affords no profit at all, such as the maintenance of light-houses. He admits that this is not an industry which could be developed by protection, though he insists that it differs only in degree from one that might be so developed; he refrains however, from giving us any example of such an industry. He then goes on to point out that there may be also an industry which is purely "acquisitive," *i. e.*, which yields profits but no utility at all. (Is there any industry outside of gambling and robbery which furnishes no utility to the community at all?) He then invites you to believe that there are all gradations of industry between these two extremes. He argues that close a connection between profit and productivity implies a much greater harmony of interest among the different members of the community than actually exists. He affirms, on the contrary, that an-

tagonism of interest among the different members of the community is "fundamental in economic science"; that, "one man's interest is served by having the labor and capital of the community directed in one line, and another's by having them directed in quite a different line"; that each individual will seek to direct industry in the line most conducive to his own interest; and that, in many cases, his interest will not harmonize with the interest of the community. He makes the further statement that industries differ greatly in the extent to which the persons carrying them on are able to appropriate as profits the utilities which they create.

Now all these statements may, or may not, be true. Their entire truth, at any rate, is not altogether obvious, to say the least. And even if we admit their partial truth, the argument for protection based upon them is not at all conclusive. What we need to know before we can judge of the value of this claim for the protective policy is: (1) How may we distinguish a productive from a merely profitable industry? (2) Do industries that are productive but not profitable actually exist in any considerable numbers? and (3) Are such industries of that kind as do exist capable of being developed by a protective tariff? These are points concerning which Professor Carver has left us very much in the dark, and they are points upon which, I repeat, we need a good deal of enlightenment before this particular argument for protection can have much practical or theoretical value for us—unless indeed economic theory is to be made up of a body of pure speculation based upon hypotheses which have little correspondence with the actual conditions of industry.

It is by no means clear to me from the reasoning in the paper that there is any considerable number of in-

dustries that can yield large utility to the community without offering large profits to those who undertake them. I am still more doubtful as to whether such industries, if they do exist, are of such a nature that they can be developed by a protective tariff. And this uncertainty is not much dispelled by a consideration of the one concrete example of such an industry, which Professor Carver has given. He thinks it is possible—and indeed implies that it has actually happened in some countries—that the owners of land might find it profitable permanently to devote it to pasturage, when it would be very much more useful to the community if devoted to cultivation. It seems very doubtful to me, whether this has ever occurred, or ever could occur, in any country for any considerable length of time. A rise in the price of wool relative to the price of other products of agriculture would of course cause a diversion of land from cultivation to pasture; but this use of the land could not continue to be profitable if the community needed the products of cultivation more than wool. If this change diminished the supply of products of cultivation, the price of those products would rise until it became more profitable to use the land for cultivation than for pasture, and labor and capital would be turned back to cultivation. I cannot conceive of the land of a country being permanently diverted from cultivation to pasture unless it should become possible for that country to secure the products of cultivation more cheaply by international trade than by domestic agriculture. In that case, the use of the land for pasture is not diverting it from a more productive to a less productive industry, because considering the relation of agriculture to other industries, pasture farming is the more productive of the two. England is

the only country where such a change has taken place on a large scale in recent times, and the conditions above mentioned have existed in that country and made the change possible. She would certainly not be richer to-day if she had prevented the change from cultivation to pasture by protection or by any other kind of legislation.

This suggests another point in which his example seems to be at fault. He assumes that the change from cultivation to pasture farming will injure the laboring class, because some of the laborers will be thrown out of employment and can secure employment only by offering their labor at lower wages. This seems to overlook the effect of the change on capital. If pasture farming requires less labor than cultivation, so also does it require less capital; and the same change which leaves a certain amount of labor unemployed, sets free at the same time, a certain amount of capital which must seek employment in other industries. The investment of this capital will create a demand for the labor thrown out of employment at as high wages as was paid in the old industry.

Time will permit me to mention only briefly the second argument of the paper. This argument really depends upon the third for its practical value; for I take it no one would hold it good policy to legislate to give the laboring class a larger share of the product of industry, if by so doing the amount of that product is diminished. Professor Carver has not yet shown us how industries which employ more labor and less capital can be substituted for those in existence without diminishing the total product of industry. The argument as it stands seems to me to justify resistance on the part of the laboring class to the introduction of all labor-saving

machinery into industry. According to it we should benefit the laboring class by discouraging the production of grain for example, in which we make large use of capital in the shape of animals and machinery, and encouraging the production of sugar beet or flax in which we can make but little use of capital. This looks very much like the fallacy of the trade unionist who seeks to make wages high by "making as much work" as possible.

In conclusion, I will add this further remark. If Professor Carver be seeking in his paper to establish a new basis for the protective policy, he seems to me entirely to have failed to accomplish his purpose. If, however, he wished only to establish a "theoretical possibility" that the protective policy may be wisely applied, then, if we admit his premises to be true, he has perhaps established his case. But this "theoretical possibility" is of very little practical value. He has yet to show that the conditions which make it true prevail to any considerable extent in modern industry.

MAURICE H. ROBINSON: Economic theory when it realizes its largest possible value becomes simply a body of scientific generalizations founded upon a thorough understanding of existing conditions. Any examination of the theoretical possibilities of a protective tariff ought therefore to take cognizance of any and all conditions that may operate to modify its normal workings. Owing to the complexity of economic phenomena, it is usually convenient to assume the competitive system, since it is fundamental and permanent, formulate the general rule and then notice the effect of modifying conditions whether due to inertia, ignorance, or monopolistic control. Some writers in treating of

the effects of a protective tariff are inclined to emphasize the influence of the fundamental conditions, while others enlarge upon the effect of the modifying circumstances; the probability of agreement or disagreement depends largely upon the point of view.

Hamilton assumed that internal competition would permanently protect the home consumer. In his report on manufactures he said: "When a domestic manufacture has attained to perfection and has engaged in the production of it a competent number of persons it invariably becomes cheaper—the internal competition which takes place soon does away with everything like monopoly and by degrees reduces the price of the article to a minimum of a reasonable profit upon the capital employed in a national point of view a temporary enlargement of price must always be well compensated by a permanent reduction of it." Professor Carver has also, in general, assumed the competitive system in effective working order, except in one case,—that of the ejected laborers. He there implies that there is no opportunity for a readjustment to be effected by the flow of some of the laborers into the rank of tenant or independent farmers. Hamilton grants without argument that there would be a temporary enlargement of the price of the protected goods until the home production could be adjusted to meet the enlarged demand. Professor Carver has instanced one case where he intimates that the industrial organization is so sensitive that the production will automatically and instantaneously be adjusted to meet the enlarged demand—a condition which it would be difficult to realize in fact.

This case needs further analysis. It is probably true

that the goods could be produced more cheaply either at home or abroad for a considerable period of time at least. Suppose the natural condition were more favorable for the production of the article abroad, the production both at home and abroad being under the law of diminishing costs, the tariff would cause more of the goods to be produced at home than under a régime of free trade and therefore the total cost of all the goods produced both at home and abroad would be greater. Hence while the price of goods would fall continuously in the home market, the selling price would necessarily be maintained at a somewhat higher level than under the free importation of the goods. If, on the other hand, the advantage in the cost of production were with the home producer, he would inevitably take and hold the home market without the stimulus of the tariff. The imposition of a duty would hasten the process, since the factors of production are not perfectly mobile. Whether the home consumer would get the benefit of the reduced cost would depend upon the efficacy of internal competition. Should the imposition of a duty in this case encourage the formation and facilitate the workings of industrial combinations, or trusts, the consumer would hardly get all the benefits of the lessened cost of production. Such, in fact, appears to be the case. Trusts are formed, not for philanthropic purposes, but to protect the interests or increase the profits of the interested parties. This end may be accomplished either by lessening the costs of production or increasing prices. Costs may be reduced by lessening the risks of the industry, by eliminating waste, by inaugurating economies in processes and in organization. Prices may be increased by eliminating competition and establishing a monopoly. A protective tariff

under the given circumstances puts a premium upon the formation of trusts upon both of the following counts: (1) The protective system increases the risks of production; there are continual tariff changes, "tariff tinkering," "tariff reform," etc., or the fear that such changes are imminent. Furthermore the protected industry is deprived of the steadying influence of the world market, under free trade economic disturbances are partially compensated and widely distributed. The formation of a trust here acts as an insurance agency for the weaker producers. And (2) If such consolidation be at all complete, competition is shut out up to the importing point by the tariff wall. These two influences of a protective tariff working in a different way upon the strong and weak producers, while not the chief causes, tend powerfully toward the same end—industrial consolidation. The weak producer looks upon the combination with favor because he hopes for protection from the risks of the business; the strong one because his chances for monopoly profits are increased. The protective system is thus constantly encouraging the formation of consolidations and permitting them to exact a monopoly profit, provided the independent home producer can be kept out.

It might be supposed that if the imposition of a duty is thus a strong factor in building trusts its abolition would cause their destruction. Such is not the case however. The possibilities of a protective tariff do not end here. The wholesale abolition of duties on trust made goods probably would have a far different effect from that usually expected. For (1) It would have a greater tendency to destroy the independent producer than the trust; and (2) By freeing the home field of the troublesome independent producer it would pave

the way for the inauguration of international trusts, whose effective regulation would prove a far more difficult task than the regulation of national trusts have yet proved to be.

It appears from the foregoing analysis: (1) That where the goods upon which a duty is laid are produced at parallel costs both at home and abroad the prices in the home market will be raised, temporarily at least, while the necessary readjustment of the productive forces is being effected; (2) That where the cost of production is less in the foreign market, the imposition of a tariff will throw the burden of increased cost chiefly upon the home consumer; and (3) That, when the cost of production is less in the home market, a duty first stimulates the home producers, then puts so large a premium on the formation of a trust among the producers of the protected line of goods that, in this age of industrial consolidation, it cannot be predicted with any certainty that the saving in costs of production will accrue to the ultimate consumers.

FABIAN FRANKLIN: I should like to say a few words on the third head of Professor Carver's paper. Professor Callender attacked Professor Carver's position by citing the actual circumstances of economic life, but I think that taking the article in the abstract it involves an error which is very fundamental. Professor Carver took the position that the economic doctrine on which the free trade theory rests—that a protective tariff interferes with the pursuit of the most productive industries—contains an essential fallacy. I do not know that I can put better what I want to say (for I have not prepared the argument at all, and it is a little difficult to put the criticism in general terms) than by taking up

the illustration of the lighthouse. Professor Carver spoke of the lighthouse as a very productive form of investment, which nevertheless would not spontaneously attract capital to its production, and nobody will deny that it takes government interposition to cause a lighthouse to be erected. But that has nothing whatever to do, so far as I can see, with the question of protection. In the case of the tariff, the question is not whether such and such a thing shall be produced or not, either by governmental action or by private enterprise; the question is in what way the thing shall be acquired by private enterprise. The question of the production of the lighthouse is the question whether it shall be produced or not. Take on the other hand, the matter of the protective tariff. We are going to get cloth in this country, and we are going to get wheat. We are going to get both of them by private enterprise. The thing which the economists a hundred years saw absolutely clearly was that we are going to get these things by private means one way or another. We are either going to make a large quantity of wheat and send part of it abroad and get cloth, or make a smaller quantity and make the cloth ourselves. Which of those things is more productive, taken in the aggregate? It is not a question of net profits by any means. We are going to do the one thing or the other, according to which one of the two things will on the whole be the more productive.

There is no doubt that the government could by the exercise of its powers determine the activities of mankind so as to make them take forms far more useful than those they actually take. The question is whether the interposition of the protective tariff is a case of this kind. That seems to have been overlooked. The

analogy of the light-house indicates a wrong point of view. It is not a question of whether we are going to have the light-house or not, and it is not a question of whether we are going to have other things or not, but whether we are going to acquire more readily through the agency of the protective tariff things which we should in any case acquire in one way or the other.

HENRY B. GARDNER: Professor Carver's first point, as I understand it, rests on an impossible assumption. He supposes that under conditions of free trade in the case of an industry subject to the law of diminishing costs part of the product is supplied by home producers and part by foreign producers. Under such conditions, however, the competition between home producers and foreign producers would inevitably go on until one or the other had been driven out. The assumption upon which Professor Carver rests his argument implies an impossible adjustment as a permanent adjustment. It seemed to me, also, that Professor Carver's second and third points are really the same point treated in somewhat different ways. For they are both cases in which through the action of the protective tariff labor and capital may be diverted from industries which require a relatively large amount of land, in proportion to the labor employed, to industries in which there is a demand for a relatively small amount of land, in proportion to the labor employed. The two points seem to be variations of the same fact. Further, in relying on this fact as he does in his second point to show that the protective tariff can lead to increased wages he seems to me to overlook the strongest theoretical argument that can be brought forward in support of his position, an argument which, if I remember rightly, Professor Pattison de-

veloped some ten years ago, namely, that through a protective tariff we can, under certain circumstances, affect the distribution of industry, and consequently relative prices, within a country in such a way as to diminish the prices of those articles which laborers consume (and increase the earning power of laborers measured in these articles) at the same time that we increase the prices of other commodities and diminish the productive power of the country as a whole. Take for example a country which under conditions of free trade is an exporter of agricultural products and an importer of certain classes of manufactured goods not largely consumed by the laboring classes. Through a protective tariff cutting off the importation of those goods, and compelling their production at home, we divert labor and capital from the agricultural industry to this manufacturing industry. The agricultural industry being subject to the law of diminishing returns, the diversion of labor and capital from it tends to raise the margin of production, to lower the margin of cost, and thereby to reduce the price of agricultural products. At the same time the price of commodities previously imported is increased but if the laborer does not consume these commodities and does consume principally agricultural products, the change will be of benefit to the laborer; his wages will go up, not as measured by his power to purchase commodities in general, but by his power to purchase the particular commodities which he consumes. The increased price of the previously imported commodity will be shifted on to the shoulders of those who consume that commodity, and it is perfectly possible they should be other than the laboring classes. It seems to me that this is the essential fact upon which the theoretical argument should rest; that protection

may possibly act in such a way as to raise wages, even though it may diminish the total product.

THOMAS N. CARVER : As to Professor Gardner's suggestion I am quite aware that Professor Patten's argument is quite forcible, but I take it for granted that members of this Association are reasonably familiar with it, and so I preferred to devote my attention to other points that did not seem to have been sufficiently emphasized, as yet. And I am also quite willing to admit that my second point and my third point come together, which is precisely what I intended. I have tried to maintain the position that the protective tariff may increase the demand for labor relatively to the other factors. It is a very important question then whether it does that at the expense of the total product. If it comes about that you can increase the share going to laborers and at the same time possibly increase the total product, there is a double gain, which is precisely the point of which I hoped more would be made.

Now as to the alleged oversight which Professor Franklin has called attention to, I think it is not altogether an oversight. I have discussed the question as though it were not a question wholly of international trade. If you are discussing a theory of international trade, I should at once admit the proposition which Professor Franklin has made. As I look at it, however, it is not a question of international trade—and the strong free trade writers have pushed it back of international trade, and make it a question of production. That is the point, or that is the phase of the question, which it seemed to me most important to discuss. To the contrary of what Professor Franklin has said, we are not going to get the commodities any way. If we

get them we must do it either by producing them ourselves, or by importing them. If we are to import them we must have something to exchange for them ; but if we produce less under one policy than under another, we will have less to exchange. The natural resources in the country will support a larger population, and produce more wealth which will enable that larger population to live under one system than under another. With another system of industries you will have a smaller amount of wealth produced, and a smaller population, and a smaller population would not get the things. It is not a question of international trade but a question of production, after all. It is a question of getting the largest wealth out of the natural resources and not a question merely of international values, as it seems to me.

Neither did I entirely overlook the possibility of the ejected laborers finding employment elsewhere when the land is turned into a sheep run. I asked, however, if they could be as well employed elsewhere as they were employed before? If so, they would have been there anyway, or some of them would have been there anyway. I assumed that if they were employed on the land it was because they could be better employed there. To drive them elsewhere would cause loss to them.

Now it is true, as Dr. Callender has said, that I did not go into the question of pointing out a large number of industries to which the principle would apply. I thought it perhaps sufficient to point the extreme cases and the medium cases. In my opinion any industry which pays a large rent is profitable in excess of its productiveness, I will leave it for members of this Association to determine, whether there are industries which yield more rent than others, and whether there are

industries which yield less rent. The amount of rent, as I understand it, is the excess of the profitableness of the industry over the productiveness of the industry. There are industries which yield very little rent, and there are industries which yield a great deal of rent and I do not think I need to enumerate the industries here.

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THE WORKMAN'S POSITION IN THE LIGHT OF ECONOMIC PROGRESS.

BY CHARLES A. TUTTLE.

Several years ago an honored president of the American Economic Association expressed the conviction, in his annual address, "that much of the confusion in economic theory and much of the discord in industrial life are alike due to inadequate expression by formal law of fundamental industrial rights."¹ He further declared that "every change in the social structure, every modification of the principle of political or industrial association, as well as the acceptance of a new social ideal, must be accompanied by a corresponding change in those rights and duties recognized and enforced by law."² Writing in the same strain, another eminent economist has well said that the economist "should surely examine, with not less care than he bestows on the institutions of positive law, these notions of ideal right of which positive law is only a belated and imperfect, though wonderfully elaborated embodiment."³ Professor Foxwell, recognizing a "dynamical as well as a statical jurisprudence," says that "if positive law is the basis of order, ideal right is the active factor in progress."⁴ The distinguished Austrian economist, Professor Menger, speaking of the juridical postulates of the socialists, declares that "the ideal law of property, from

¹ Henry Carter Adams: Economics and jurisprudence, Economic Studies, 2:7-8.

² *Ibid.*

³ Foxwell, introduction to Menger's The right to the whole produce of labour, p. xii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. II.

the economic point of view, would be attained in a system which assured to every laborer the whole produce of his labor, and to every want as complete satisfaction as the means at disposal would allow,"¹ while "our actual law of property, which rests almost entirely on traditional political conditions, does not even attempt the attainment of these economic ends."² Further the brilliant analyses of Professor John B. Clark³ afford little encouragement to the laborer, though they may prove conclusively that in a static society, in which existing property rights prevail, the laborer would receive the entire product of his labor; for a static society exists only in the imagination, while the laborer lives in the actual world of incessant change.

Though the socialists' juridical postulates may be faulty, though their economic analyses may be fallacious, they have certainly succeeded in directing the attention of thoughtful men to the intimate relation which has always existed between the economic life of a people and its system of jurisprudence—a relation so close that dynamic forces which vitally change the one, must inevitably lead to corresponding changes in the other. Is it not possible, nay rather is it not probable, that the existing industrial system, which has been such a potent factor in the economic development of the world, may, like the feudal system, have accomplished its task and have become a hindrance rather than an aid to further progress?

It is not the purpose of this paper to attempt an exhaustive examination of the workman's position in the light of economic progress. Time forbids that. The

¹ Menger: The right to the whole produce of labour, p. 2.

² *Ibid.*

³ The distribution of wealth.

paper can merely point out, in the hope to contribute something towards rendering the workman's position more definite and dignified and therefore more human, certain economic rights which should receive legal sanction.

The one fact which characterizes our industrial system more clearly, perhaps, than any other, is specialization—a fact heavy with consequences as regards the individual, his relation to society, and society's relation to him. Specialization is the dynamic which has changed society from an aggregation of amoeba-like individuals, economically speaking, into a vital organism in which the differentiating process is unceasingly working. Born of the inability of the isolated man to satisfy his diversifying and multiplying wants, and fostered by diversity in man and in the outside world, specialization has opened the way to scientific discovery, mechanical invention and geographical exploration; it has steadily narrowed the individual's function from many things to few things, to one thing and to a more and more minute fraction of a thing, and just as steadily extended the field of his influence with the widening of the circle of exchanges, until one small touch on one commodity lays "the world under tribute," and objective realities have finally awakened in the economist's consciousness the idea of the unity of humanity in the struggle with all nature.

Specialization has not only made society the unit in the productive process; but it has made the collective will sovereign. It has given birth to a force, which is not only the "social guarantor of progress," but the guarantor of social control as well. Broadly speaking it has given all men a common purpose and a common master. More particularly, by assigning a specific func-

tion to large numbers of individuals and to many industrial groups, it has brought them into rivalry—competition—in the common master's service. While the civil law says the individual may choose his occupation and conduct it where and how he may, so far as he does not infringe upon the rights of others, economic law is more exacting; for it circumscribes him more or less minutely and dictates not only what he shall do, but where and how he shall do it. In the productive process, independence has been supplanted by interdependence. In consumption alone does the individual stand upon his own feet.

The specializing process has not only made the collective will dominant, but it has rendered society fickle in her treatment of the individual. Though animated by the one supreme economic purpose of wresting from nature, at the least possible cost, the means of satisfaction for the multiplying and diversifying wants of man, society is continually changing her mind not only as to what shall be produced, but as to where and how, as well. Not until man's wants shall have ceased to multiply and diversify and man shall have attained complete mastery over his fully developed powers, not until science shall have exhausted the secrets of nature and mechanical invention shall have been brought to absolute perfection, can economic stability exist.

We accept then the fact of progress. We could not eliminate it if we would; we would not if we could. We readily admit that no state could "be so bad that the fact of progress would not redeem it." Nothing short of an economic millennium can be static.

Why, then, we ask has the workingman always been hostile to economic progress, particularly that form which may be characterized as mechanical invention?

Economists and statisticians may demonstrate, as they have long been doing, that mechanical invention is a benefit to the workingman, yet the workman of flesh and blood trembles when he thinks of it. One cannot, it is true, grasp the fundamental import of industrial progress, unless he conceives of labor as a force and of the laborers as a class ; but he must not stop there. It is refreshing to read in a recent number of an economic journal that "the right of the present social order to exist depends upon the laws which govern, not functional, but personal distribution. Our only interest in functional distribution is due to the light which it throws on the vastly more important question of personal distribution."¹ Clearness of analysis requires in discussing the effects upon the laborer of industrial progress, in general, and of mechanical invention, in particular, that we distinguish between the standpoint of the laboring class, in the long run, which receives the ultimate uplift and the existing flesh and blood workman, who receives the first shock, and whose life may be hopelessly blighted by it.

Several years ago, the writer had occasion to address to the chiefs of two of the leading labor bureaus of the country the enquiry whether in their judgment insecurity of employment occasioned by inventions or improvements in the methods or processes of production is now a considerable source of hardship to the laboring classes. Substantially the same evasive answer came back in each case to the effect that "in the long run all displacements, whether due to the introduction of new machines or to any other cause, are compensated by a readjustment of industrial forces ; labor-saving devices

¹ T. N. Carver : Clark's Distribution of wealth. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 15:579.

do not contract, on the contrary they enlarge the field for labor." The Hon. Carroll D. Wright, in his work on *The Industrial Evolution of the United States*, devotes a chapter to the "displacement of labor" by machinery, giving a number of instances of such displacement, drawn from the First Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor and the late David A. Wells's *Recent Economic Changes*; yet he fails to give the subject the consideration that its importance demands. Apologizing for the term "labor-saving machinery, which should more properly be called," he says, "labor-making or labor-assisting machinery,"¹ he hastens on to "the permanent good effects of the application of machinery to industrial development, which," he justly says, "all men of sound minds admit."² He thinks it "impossible to treat of the influence of inventions, so far as the displacement of labor is concerned, on the individual basis," and maintains that "we must take labor abstractly."³ He then devotes a chapter to the "expansion" of labor by inventions, and reaches the conclusion, which no one—not even the workman—questions, that "machinery is the friend and not the enemy of man."⁴

But let us consider briefly the immediate effect of mechanical invention upon the workman. He has taken his place, at society's call, for the performance of some more or less specialized function, involving, perhaps, considerable special preparation. He has married, has become the owner, perhaps, of a comfortable home and is responsible for the support of a family. An efficient

¹ Carroll D. Wright: *The industrial evolution of the United States*, p. 325.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 342.

new machine is introduced involving "some displacement of laborers." A sudden change of process causes him no longer to be wanted at the point where the change occurs, though at a hundred other points he is more wanted than before. The burden of finding and occupying one of these places falls on him and "for a time the burden may not be a light one." "A dynamic society," says Professor Clark, "keeps a certain number of men in transit from one employment to another."¹ He becomes an unwilling member of that mysterious "army of the unemployed." His savings are spent during the search for employment and his family too frequently reduced to positive want and dependence upon outside assistance. When finally an opportunity for work has been found and the scattered family has been brought together by dint of hard work and self-denial, it is only, perhaps, to repeat the experience in an aggravated form. While it is true that the economist need not trouble himself with any new analysis with regard to those whom Professor Dewey calls "the able-bodied poor, sturdy beggars, shiftless ne'er-do-wells, weaklings, intemperates, feeble, discarded units of society,"² whom society has always carried upon its shoulders; yet serious consideration is demanded for that "re-enforcement of men and women who are willing to work, and who in past times have found abundant opportunities to work, but who now find their economic condition so uncertain, their industrial tenure so unstable, that they are frequently without employment."³

¹ The theory of economic progress, in *Economic Studies*, vol. I, p. 17.

² Davis R. Dewey: Irregularity of employment. *Publications of the Am. Econ. Assoc.*, 9:528.

³ *Ibid.*

Unfortunately, the displacement of labor by mechanical invention has never received systematic statistical investigation, so far as I am able to learn. The data we have is exceedingly fragmentary and widely scattered. It is to be hoped that the subject may, in the immediate future, receive from statisticians the serious attention that its importance deserves. It is certainly significant that "during the past decade, most of the important industrial nations have made efforts to collect statistical data bearing upon the problem of unemployment."¹ Mr. Willoughby's opinion that "the opponents of the present industrial regime have no more effective argument than the fact that there are men willing and able to work, but unable to find opportunity to do so,"² deserves the earnest consideration of thoughtful men. Economists and all close observers of industrial conditions must concur in the opinion of Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, that inventions and improvements in the methods and processes of production are the source of much of the restlessness and hardship of the laboring class of our country.

We revert to our question: How are we to account for the traditional hostility of the workingman towards mechanical invention? It is not necessary to enter into any analysis to prove, even to him, that, in the long run, all classes including the wage-earner, are benefitted. The laborer readily admits all this. The fact that mechanical invention imposes present hardship and suffering upon him does not, in itself, account for his position. The workingman is just as patriotic,

¹ William F. Willoughby: The measurement of unemployment. *Yale Review*, 10:188-202.

² Ibid.

is just as ready to suffer and to lay down his life, if need be, in a noble cause, as any other man. If the benefits of mechanical progress could be attained only through the suffering of the workingman, he would not flinch. But he rightly feels that his own misfortune is not a necessary means to economic progress, but rather an unfortunate attendant circumstance, which society should find a way to eliminate. Herein lies the true explanation of his attitude. He sees clearly that the very force which entails present hardship upon himself places extraordinary profits in the pocket of his employer, and he is told that, through the beneficent workings of competition, this same force will ultimately enormously benefit mankind. The questions persistently rise in his mind:—Why should the cost of industrial progress be thrust upon him? Is not this gross injustice? Does not the economic obligation rest upon society to bear the costs of its progress? If, in response to society's demand, the workman has fitted himself for the performance of a more or less specialized function, is he not economically entitled to indemnification, should society in the interest of mankind, and not because of any shortcomings on the laborer's part, effect the withdrawal of that function by mechanical invention? Is not this right of the workman to indemnification for loss of position through economic progress one of the "fundamental industrial rights" which, in a dynamic society, should find expression in formal law? When society shall assume, formally, the obligation to indemnify the workman displaced by mechanical invention, the hostility of the laborer to this form of industrial progress will cease. By making the indemnity sufficiently large to enable the displaced workman, without financial embarrass-

ment, to find one of the opportunities awaiting him in some other quarter of the field, society would effectively, in Professor Gidding's phrase, "take openly the responsibility for replacing the displaced."¹ It is not public or private charity that the modern wage-earner demands, but economic justice. Society should find some practicable method for converting the workman's economic right into a legal title and thereby enable the laborer to receive with self-respect that which otherwise must too often come to him in the form of humiliating charity.

In the actual world of business the benefits of economic progress do not, at once, accrue to the people; they are, for a time, intercepted by the business owner in the form of enhanced profits, which constitute his chief incentive to improvement. The making and applying of mechanical inventions and of improved methods and processes of production is recognized as one of the most prolific sources of business profits under modern conditions. Though not a constant source of profit, it is always present at a thousand different points and gives promise of constantly recurring as long as the industrial system continues. Every entrepreneur is striving to become the possessor of something in machine or process superior to that which his competitors possess. Success is rewarded by extraordinary profit which continues so long as it is possible, through secrecy and the aid of patent laws, to keep a monopoly of the new contrivance. However, in time, patents expire and secrets become known, and a superior device, if it be an important one, will force itself into general use and thus bring to an end the advantage which priority of possession gives its originator.

¹ Democracy and empire, p. 93.

In the end the public gets the whole advantage. Competition lowers the price to the level of the reduced cost of production, eliminates the extraordinary profit and "leaves, as a permanent result, an increase of productive power, an elevation of the level of human life".¹ A former president of this association, in his annual address on "The theory of economic progress", said of the employer: "He can keep his place only by being as efficient as his competitors, and that means that his methods must become continually better. He cannot survive by merely directing his industry as well as he did when he assumed control over it; he must direct it better and better. The condition of being an employer at all is that of using methods that in efficiency are on a plane with those used by others. One must march abreast of the general rank in order to survive; and he must sometimes step in advance of the rank if he is to make a profit. The rank will then overtake him in his advanced position; and the result of the whole movement will be a universal forward step. In the front rank of employers, mere survival; in advance of the front rank, gain; by the advance of all to the position of foremost, social progress—such is the sequence."²

The mode of economic progress reveals the principle in accordance with which the fund for the indemnification of the displaced workman should be raised. The movement which imposes hardship upon the workman creates first a special profit for the entrepreneur and ultimately "an elevation of the level of human life." The costs of the movement should therefore be borne, partly by the business owner, and partly by the people

¹ Clark: Profits under modern conditions, in Clark & Giddings's *The modern distributive process*, p. 48.

² Clark: *The theory of economic progress*. *Economic Studies*, 1:10.

as a whole. A portion of the indemnity fund should be drawn from the general tax revenue, in recognition of the fact that the people are ultimately the beneficiaries of the movement; another portion should be raised by some sort of special tax upon the entrepreneur, in recognition of the special profit which he reaps.

It is the writer's belief that the displacement of laborers through mechanical invention will increase rather than diminish with time. We are barely entering upon the era of mechanical invention. At the same time, Professor Clark's analysis¹ has revealed that the tendency of economic progress is to lighten the burden of finding a new opportunity for work. The more minute through specialization the labor function becomes, the more quickly it can be learned. A workman displaced by mechanical invention from one such function, can soon master another. Further, the fact also emphasized by Professor Clark,² must not be overlooked that it is possible for the laborer himself to seek and get that type of manual training which will make him more widely adaptable. He may have a broader training and a broader capability than was possible for the workman of former times. While at one time he may perform one minute function, he may, and should, have the power, with a minimum of loss in the transition, to do any one of a score of others. He should try to make his command over many functions so complete, that the vanishing of a single function will never leave him utterly helpless. Thus economic progress, in the two-fold way of simplifying the functions for labor and broadening the workman himself, is reducing the burden of displacement by mechanical invention more and more to the mere necessity for leaving one place and finding an-

¹ Clark: The theory of economic progress. *Economic Studies*, 1:10.

other. Yet even this burden, though it may involve little waste of acquired skill, will by no means be a light one, and the economic right of the displaced workman to indemnity is none the less clear.

It is not the writer's purpose to plead for a particular form of indemnity, but rather to establish the economic right of the workmen to indemnity for injury suffered through economic progress, and to indicate the sources from which the indemnity would very properly be drawn. It might take the form, partially, of free public employment bureaus, and perhaps of free railroad transportation. Whatever the form, it is essential that it should be recognized as the workman's economic right, and not as a form of public charity.

This economic claim of the workman is, in reality, but a corollary of a larger and more comprehensive economic right. I refer to nothing less than the economic right of the laborer to his place, "during efficiency and good behavior, without regard to religious, political, or economic opinions and associations"—an economic right, which would secure the laborer's tenure by making the business owner liable to a money damage for the summary dismissal of a faithful and efficient workman. If trade-unionism and collective bargaining, profit sharing and industrial arbitration mean anything, they signify that the workman has quasi-property rights in the business in which he is employed. He may not own a dollar of the capital, he may not own a square foot of the land, he may not own even a minute fractional part of a machine; but the business is more than its capital, its land and its machines, and that the workman does have a quasi-property right in the business no one can deny. The productive process is social, and the traditional business owner, so

strongly intrenched in our legal system as an industrial despot, is strangely out of harmony with the spirit of the age. In profit-sharing establishments, the workman is already tacitly recognized as a joint owner in the business. The realization of industrial arbitration would be a long step in the direction of industrial democracy and the recognition of the workman's quasi-property right in business. How happily and significantly did Professor Henry Carter Adams declare before this Association, five years ago, that "the existence of the property right which attaches itself to a citizen of the industrial world in much the same way that political right attaches itself to citizens of a democratic society, is rendered probable by its necessity."¹

¹ Economics and jurisprudence. *Economic Studies*, 2 : 29.



DISCUSSION.

DAVID KINLEY: I fear that I am not able, from the brief examination that I have had opportunity to give the paper before us, to do full justice in whatever point of criticism I may have to offer.

I think we are indebted to Professor Tuttle for laying so much emphasis upon the social point of view. The labor question, the position of the laborer, is something to consider from the point of view of society as a whole. We have had the social point of view emphasized in economic discussions in recent years. It is society that has become the producer, society that has become the consumer; it is society that determines values and determines prices; it is society that has done this and that. Although it seems to me that the idea of "society's" acting is sometimes pushed too far, the fact of its application in theories of production and distribution excuses its application here.

I was impressed especially by one of the points made in the paper, and the failure to carry it to its logical conclusion. The consideration of the condition of the workingman, from the point of view of society should be a consideration of the proper status of the working-class as part and parcel of the producing group. That is a very different question from the consideration of evils incidental to the existing status of the workingman; yet it is to the consideration of a single one of that class of evils that Professor Tuttle has devoted the main part of his paper. The discussion of the proper status of the working-class, as one of the factors of the production, is mentioned in the last page or two in connection with the quasi-property right which many think

the workingman has in the productive system of which he is a factor. The main purpose of the writer, however, is to provide a remedy for one evil that exists in the present status of workingmen, rather than suggesting possible development for the improvement of the status of the workingmen as a group, and as one of the factors of the producing system. Nevertheless, we must not underrate the importance of what is put before us,—either the importance of the evil mentioned, or the significance of the proposed remedy.

The workingman occupies a certain status as one of the factors of the group of productive elements. There are certain evil things in that status. It is proper to ask what progress has been made in the elimination of the evils incident to the existing status of the workingman in the past ten, twenty-five, fifty years. We are accustomed to answer the question by saying that wages have increased so much, and prices have gone down so much, and therefore the workingman's condition is better off. I take it, however, that Professor Tuttle thinks that such figures do not after all furnish us an adequate answer. The real point at issue is not whether the workingman to-day is in the same status, socially and economically, that he was fifty years ago; but whether the status of the workingman, when compared with the status of other classes, is better than it was in a similar comparison fifty years ago. It is true that the workingman is less certain of employment than he used to be before the introduction of machinery; it is also true that machinery has offset that loss by furnishing a larger quantity of goods for the individual workingman. But this does not necessarily prove, it seems to me, that the status of workingmen as a group, one of the groups engaged in the production of wealth, is any better than it was, when

compared for instance with the progress in the condition of the employer, on the one hand, and the capitalist on the other.

We have been accustomed to think of the workman from the employer's point of view, and the employer's point of view is to look upon labor very much as he looks upon machinery,—as one of the factors which he uses in getting his product. The advantage of the social point of view is that it regards the laborer not with reference to the employer, but as a social group, and measures his progress by the relative readjustment from time to time, of his group to others, as groups, and not as individuals. The important question is : Has the laboring class benefited as much as have other classes from the economic progress of the century? This is a very different question from asking whether we can find a remedy for the irregularities of employment. There are some things to be said in favor of an affirmative answer to the question I have just asked, and to my mind not the least important is the attitude taken in the recent New York labor conference, which, after all, only reflected or crystalized, the public opinion which favors the recognition (as Professor Tuttle put it toward the end of his paper) of quasi-property right on the part of the laborer in the instruments of production he uses, in the business of which he is a part. It seems to me there is no more encouraging mark of progress in the whole range of this labor question than in the acknowledgment that was made by man after man, at that conference, in public discussion, of the laborer's right to a voice in some phases of the policy of the business of which he is a factor. Now I do not mean to admit any right on the part of the employee to manage the business of his employer. I wish simply to emphasize the fact that public opinion

no longer recognizes an unlimited right of the employer against the employee to say "this is my property and I will do as I please with it, and you get out." Public opinion says that such a position may not be longer tolerated, because the securing of fair play in industrial life concerns society as a whole. But this view must not be pushed too far. The employer's rights are equally entitled to protection, and I think there is some danger of forgetting this. A happy solution is to be found somewhere between the two extremes. If the opinion comes to be established that the laboring man, as such, is to have a voice in the settlement of labor affairs and of the productive processes of which he is so large a part, I think we shall have taken a most important step in advance and one that will be of great advantage for the future of society.

Some recent occurrences, however, seem to indicate a loss in the status of the working class. I refer especially to what I have always felt has been the extraordinary extension of the powers of the courts in the use of the injunction, which, it seems to me, has placed a weapon in the hands of the employing class, to the disadvantage of the laboring class, that neither his own welfare nor justice between the parties requires. I am speaking now of this matter in the light of public policy, not as a matter of law. It is sound law, of course, for the highest tribunal of the land has so decided. It is a fact that the extension of the injunction was based upon an interpretation of a statute passed for an entirely different purpose, and not upon a logical deduction from the previous use of the injunction, as the injunction had been used for three hundred years. That, it seems to me, is a step backwards, not perhaps in the mere use of the equity arm of the law for such purposes,

but in the extent to which the thing has been pushed. So the position of the laborer to-day, from the social standpoint, has been advanced by the recognition of his quasi-right to a voice in the management of industry, and has been put a step backward by the curtailment of his rights in the labor contract.

To come now to the particular phase of the question that Professor Tuttle discussed. The ethical principle on which he bases his alleged right of the workingman to compensation is not altogether new. It is not the assertion of a new ethical principle, nor, indeed, the assertion of a new legal principle. As a matter of fact it is simply the application to labor of the principle that law and equity have recognized from the time since there have been English law and equity. When the public takes the property of a man to build a railroad, it indemnifies him; it takes his support away and gives him something for it. Professor Tuttle, it seems to me, applies the general principle underlying this action in another direction. He makes society say to the workingman, "we are making progress at your expense; we will try to see to it that the expense is not altogether yours." But whether his particular proposal to indemnify the workman by giving him a sum of money raised by taxation, partly general and partly specific, is a practicable and wise measure, is a different question. If we attempt to put such a scheme into practice, we would run against the old objection that we would cut the nerve of initiative. If we say to the working class, or to any other class, "here is an easy way to get free from difficulties incident to your employment without effort on your part," we are likely to deaden individual enterprise. It seems to me, therefore, that wisdom requires that we should not do this; that whatever

share society takes toward improving the life conditions of the laborer, toward giving part of the benefit of industrial progress to those who suffer from this very progress, should be done in a way that will not be doing one kind of mischief while at the same time it is trying to cure another. I am not at all sure that the proper limits of social action would not be reached if whatever funds should be raised should be so applied as to distribute labor in order to meet the requirements made necessary by new inventions, and tide over the superfluous labor until the readjustment has taken place. If we do even that much we encounter another difficulty; if society acts to that extent it is bound also to say to a man, "here is work; now, take this work; you have been thrown out by this improvement or that improvement, but here is an opportunity now for you to go to work and not suffer". In other words, if society undertakes to provide indemnification it must also have the power to control action to the extent of being able to make a man who has been thrown out of work by economic progress go to work when an opportunity offers, whether it is work he likes, or not. Now that is a technical curtailment of liberty, but it is a fair question, as our distinguished President put it last night, whether increased opportunities for economic activity and better life would not really enlarge the sphere of freedom of action, despite the apparent restriction.

I wish to repeat in conclusion, therefore, that while I sympathize with the general ethical proposition laid down by Professor Tuttle, it seems to me that his practical proposal would be difficult, if not impossible, to put into effect; and that he has missed the main point of his subject, namely, the improvement of the

status of the workingman, rather than the elimination of incidental evils in his present status.

SAMUEL M. LINDSAY: To Professor Tuttle's statement of fact in the interesting paper to which we have just listened I have in the main, no objections to offer. As I understand him, the work of the laborer is becoming more highly specialized and more minutely subdivided into effort requiring longer periods for preparation and this movement is likely to be accelerated with further industrial progress. The substitution of machinery for each new labor function is of the essence of progress, but the difficulty of readjustment on the part of the individual workman has become so great and the necessity for more frequent readjustment so marked as to demand social compensation to be derived from the social surplus which is being rapidly increased as a result of this process.

The experience of England in the past twenty years in working out one of the greatest pieces of modern social legislation,—the Workingman's Compensation Act—may be readily applied to the slightly different problem which Professor Tuttle has presented and will serve perhaps as the best concrete illustration of his reasoning. The Workingmen's Compensation Act assumed that the accidents of industry are incidental to the increased productivity of modern industrial organization which makes so large a use of machinery. They hold that the employer out of his enhanced profits due to the use of dangerous machinery or to methods of organization of his labor force involving new risks to life, limb or health, must partially compensate his workmen or in large part carry their risks. Apply this to the risks of displacement or to the dangers of frequent

and prolonged unemployment due to increasing specialization, and ask the state or the employer or both to compensate the individual workman and partially to carry or insure his risk and you have a concrete illustration of Professor Tuttle's main thesis.

We are concerned here only with the theoretical justification of such a plan; in no way with the details of its possible execution. In the first place I would call attention to certain changes taking place in industry which makes it necessary for the employer, following his economic interests, to prevent the rapid displacement of workmen on the scale assumed in Professor Tuttle's discussion. Industrial combinations are perhaps the most significant and far reaching in their effects of all recent changes in the industrial world. One result has been the wider separation of the real director of industrial processes from the workman who does the work. This necessitates the control of labor at long range and therefore means that the modern trust must have a more stable labor force and a more intelligent workman, even in the lower grades, than was necessary under the larger number of smaller employers. If the trust succeeds at all, it must more evenly distribute its production and run its factories night and day and every day in the year. It can therefore give more steady employment and will necessarily seek to keep men it has trained in its own more efficient methods. It will and does seek by all sorts of methods to keep a solid hold on its labor force by offering bonuses, interests in the business, relief and pension features to make it difficult for its men to change from one industry to another, and it seeks also, and this fact is still more to the point in our present discussion, to anticipate industrial changes and to train in advance its

own men for the readjustments in work which the introduction of labor saving devices will demand. In proportion therefore as this consolidation in industry goes on, and may be taken as typical of modern economic progress, there is in the very process itself some compensation for the industrial workmen and some provision to carry his risk.

In the second place, it is worth one's while to consider whether it be not true that present economic conditions require the individual workman to choose at an early age his occupation for life. In most of the well organized industries new men are not admitted in any capacity after they have attained the age of 35 and in many well defined occupations the age limit of admission is 25 years. So far therefore as such industries do not provide within themselves for all necessary readjustments of individual workmen they may entail great hardship, but the interesting fact is that those industries which have been able to push the age limit for admission down the furthest and have thus reaped the greatest profit from efficient labor have been able to do so only because they recognize the necessity of carrying the risks of both accident and non-employment through compensation relief and pension features. Should the state become an agent for this purpose it might easily check a movement which has already attained some considerable force from the motives of economic interest in private industry.

The state can compensate the individual workman for his losses due to economic progress and may very properly tax the resources to which Professor Tuttle's paper has directed our attention, without danger of interfering with the normal development of the economic

compensation to which I have so briefly, and, in the few minutes at my command, I fear but very vaguely, tried to point. The position of the workman in the light of recent economic progress shows nothing more clearly than the growing need of economic foresight, independence, intelligence and inventiveness, and above all the power to work with others collectively even where there is a sacrifice of individual freedom of action. These are qualities which are the result of what President Ely last evening so aptly called our social heredity and they are the products very largely of education. The compensation the state owes is the maintenance of the best industrial and commercial education not only made available for the children of the workers but for adult workers as well. Adult education in every possible effective form and the maintenance of freedom of thought and of activity will alone suffice to enable the modern worker to use existing economic forces and opportunities in the future as he has in the past to protect his share in the social surplus and in the results of economic progress. Under these conditions virile and efficient workmen will make necessary readjustments, and for those who cannot a wiser and more sufficient public charity will provide and at the same time will eliminate them from the ranks of industrial workers in their own interests as well as in that of their employers and their fellow workmen, and for the ultimate good of the body-politic.

GEORGE ROBERTS: Professor Tuttle's essential point as I understand it is that the benefits of progress are enjoyed by society as a whole, while the losses incident to progress are borne by the individual laborer. There are just one or two suggestions that I desire briefly to

make in that connection. The first is that the laborer himself is a part of the society which enjoys these benefits, and that, while he may not derive benefit from the particular step of progress which deprives him of employment, he has been all his life a beneficiary of a thousand such steps of progress to which he himself made no contribution. The fact that he is daily the beneficiary of such progress in every department of industry is to him ample compensation for the risk or loss which he may incur. On the other hand, while the profits of a given step of progress may be enjoyed by capitalists, the capitalist himself is constantly bearing the risk of having his entire investment wiped out by just such progress. So it seems to me that the benefits are being constantly distributed to all the members of the community, laborers as well as capitalists, and the losses likewise more equitably than any system that could be devised by legislative acts.

THEODORE MARBURG : This is the largest question of our day. The turn the discussion has taken this afternoon is a fitting supplement to the papers and discussions this morning. The opinion has been advanced that our Association in its consideration of this topic should confine itself to the economic aspects of industry and of the labor question. I cannot reconcile myself to this view ; it seems to me most fitting to introduce the element of the ethical. Few of us doubt that the career of unexampled economic activity upon which our country has entered points to ascendancy in the field of industry. What concerns us is to study the forces which are calculated to make our position secure and enduring. There is reason to believe that the cycles of growth and decay that mark the history of nations were

born of conditions that are passing away. It is rash to presume that we shall actually escape the fate of other nations but it should be our care to postpone as long as possible the day of decline and to show some lasting gain to humanity as a result of our activities. That object can be promoted by building up the character of the average man in the United States and to effect this we must give attention to the ethical side of industry and of the labor question. It seems to me entirely fitting that the American Economic Association should endeavor to indicate how far it is safe to go in this direction. If we are not to do it, who is?

What I want to do now is to point out, in a limited way, what we can do and what we cannot do to improve the condition of labor and to develop the laborer, submitting the matter to you in the light of experience as an employer of labor combined with some dozen years of attention to the science of economics.

Mr. Tuttle has suggested indemnity for the man who is displaced by improved machinery. In approaching this question we need as perspective a consciousness not only of the contribution of machinery to wealth, but of the part it has played in increasing opportunity for employment and in increasing wages. The great increase in the number of people following gainful pursuits not only in America, where the phenomenon is partly explained by the existence of new land to be cultivated, but in Europe too, has taken place since the advent of power-machines. It has been shown that in America nominal wages have advanced 82 per cent. and real wages 130 per cent. since 1840. There is no question but that machinery means increased opportunity and increased wages. This gain to the labor world as a whole does not excuse us, of course, from compensating the in-

dividual who suffers from this development provided such compensation can be given safely, but the question of indemnity for the individual unfortunately connects itself with the question of the unemployed generally. The individual who is thrown out by improved machinery becomes one of that great body. The problem of the unemployed is a serious and most depressing problem for society, one which I fear will never be wholly solved. Experience only emphasizes the truth of the saying of Christ, "ye have the poor with you alway." We may lessen the numbers of the submerged class, but there is little hope of abolishing the class, and for this reason: it is not his actual inferiority but his comparative inferiority which causes the individual to be worsted in the struggle. The most worthless tramp in the street is superior to the savage who gloats over the victim he is torturing to death, or to the brute who practices cannibalism. But whilst he progressed through his antecedents, through his progenitors and through his inheritance of an ever better social environment, the whole of society has progressed, and it is his comparative inferiority to those about him which punishes him.

Now suppose the government attempt to remedy this, as has been suggested, by offering work to the unemployed, what would that mean? It would mean that you offer a refuge to all who chose to abandon their existing employment. It would invite expressions of discontent on the part of those engaged in private industry. The workman would be quick to find fault and to throw up his job if he could fall back upon the government to give him work. Very soon the government would be the major or the sole employer, and that means socialism. Under that régime the only way you can exact work from the man who is disinclined to work is to

imprison him, and that is a return to slavery. Private property is the only safeguard against slavery, and private property could not continue to exist on a liberal scale if the government should offer work to the whole body of the unemployed.

As to the workman's right of indemnity and his right to a voice in the management of industry, I think we confuse matters when we talk about rights in that sense. It is much better to appeal directly to social expediency. If it be socially expedient that the worker should be indemnified, and that he should have a voice in the management, let it be done. If it be not socially expedient, he has no right to it.

Now these are some of the things we cannot do ; there are some things we can do. We see this marvelous growth in invention ; we note new instrumentalities of exchange and production multiplied to such an extent, that what is done to-day would have been considered an idle dream a generation ago. Notwithstanding this, we find labor still subject to the heavy burden to which Mr. Tuttle and others have referred. We find labor in many industries with a task unduly hard, with nothing connected with it that is elevating and developing to the man himself. We see him leaving his home in the morning before his children are up, and returning after they are in bed. We see very few laborers accumulating enough to relieve themselves of this strain in their old age. They get higher wages, and more for their wages as time goes on, but much of their expenditure is dictated by the necessity of conforming to the habits of their neighbors. The money they expend on the education of their children, and on better housing and food and on recreation is well spent, but it is a question whether the gaudier appearance of the household and

the fancy dress of the women add much to the household's real happiness.

And here enters a most important consideration. Unless the laborer did expend his wages, and was under the pressure of this necessity of earning a livelihood, I fear we would not get labor for the more unpleasant and harder work of industry. This is a philosophical fact on which the whole question rests. If the labor world were in an independent position, many of our factories would be compelled to close. It is running against this stubborn fact that makes it all the more incumbent upon us to seek ways in which we can improve the laborer's condition in other directions.

The government cannot make the laborer save; it can do but little to increase wages. We come then to the conditions of labor and the first thing that presents itself to us in this connection is the hours of labor. Here, it seems to me, is the opportunity of the government. It can give the laboring man more leisure; it can establish postal savings banks to increase the opportunity and incentive for saving; it can follow the example of Germany and see that the laborer is provided for in his old age. The most important of these steps is that in the direction of shorter hours. The question is too large to go into adequately in this discussion. I must omit arguments; but I should like to give certain conclusions which I have reached after years of attention to the subject.

In 1881 it looked as if shorter hours would be brought about through the efforts of the laborers themselves, but for lack of a concerted action the movement lapsed. The permanent reduction of hours in the building trades was made possible by the fact that in these trades competition is within a limited circumference. In the

general field of industry the individual employer cannot reduce the hours of labor because he would be at a disadvantage with his competitor. The same is true of any single state of the Union. I have reached the conclusion that the object can be attained in a reasonable period only through the intervention of the federal government and that the United States is one of the few countries that could afford the experiment. It is a question which we are inclined to leave to its own solution and whose discussion we are disposed to postpone, but there are two considerations which make it incumbent upon us to act soon. One is the fact that shorter hours must be introduced before our exports of manufactures become too large a percentage of our total exports; the other is that the existence of trusts and the perfection of our industries point to a speedy modification of the tariff, and the maintenance of the tariff is essential to the success of the experiment. It would be rash to hope that the tariff would be restored for the sake of giving shorter hours to labor.

The question is indeed a serious one and calls for great deliberation. Personally I think it would be an entirely safe experiment, particularly if the reduction of hours were gradual through a period of years. The group of men who carried it out would be doing something as far reaching as that which Lincoln did for the black man.

ADNA F. WEBER : The practical difficulties of creating any public or governmental machinery for relieving unemployed workingmen are so great that it might be well to consider what means have been devised by private initiative to secure this end. As is generally known, there has lately taken place in the printing in-

dustry the introduction on a large scale of new labor-saving machinery,—the type-setting machine. Ordinarily such a movement would have resulted in the retirement of a host of intelligent, well-paid artisans and the substitution in their place of a much cheaper grade of labor. The distress that such a movement would involve has been avoided by the action of the typographical union, which instead of antagonizing the new machine deliberately agreed to its general introduction, but only under the condition that the machines should be operated by union men at the existing rates of wages, and in many cases, that the hours of work should be shortened. Now it seems to me that this is a great forward step in the method of dealing with displacement of labor. By this system the benefits of invention are not entirely absorbed by the employer, in large profits, and the consumer, in lower prices, but are to some extent shared with the workmen in the trade immediately affected. These workmen secure the permanent advantage of shorter hours, but on the other hand are placed under the temporary disadvantage of having to support a fraction of their number who are temporarily thrown out of employment. It is possible that in other industries trade unions may meet employers in the same way, and thus keep in employment the larger portion of skilled labor without any reduction of wages. In some such arrangement I see more promise of practical performance than in other proposals, while it is supported by the ethical considerations advanced by Professor Tuttle and other speakers.

WILLIAM W. FOLWELL: It seems to me that the trouble with this whole discussion is that it is a purely academic discussion, really not worth our while. We

might willingly grant the whole contention of Professor Tuttle's able and very interesting paper. It is the practical question, how to put such a scheme into operation, which alone needs consideration. It is proposed now to indemnify laborers by means of taxation, or by contributions from employers, or both. The first question arises in regard to this taxation—what kind is it to be? Is it to be direct or indirect, local or state, or shall the whole United States be called upon? If you leave this to local taxation, there would be great inequalities and great confusion. I can't conceive off hand how you are going to work any such scheme of taxation. If you propose to compel the employers to contribute to such a fund, who is going to do it? What kind of authority—national, state or local? In any case, who can see beforehand what employees are most likely to be displaced by new machinery? Nobody can tell. Nobody knows what business will be completely ruined and upset tomorrow by new processes or new machinery. Do you propose then to raise a fund in advance, to be kept in some treasury ready for use when some industry, at some unknown and unexpected time, shall be destroyed by a new process or a new invention? We don't do things that way in the United States. It seems to me the practical difficulties of working any such scheme are too great, and we have merely been engaged in a purely academic and theoretical discussion, which is extremely pleasant, but which, it seems to me, is wholly impractical.

JOHN R. COMMONS: One of the difficulties of the effort to combine ethics and economics is that it places us in the position of the politician who is in favor of the theory but against the practice. We are all of us in favor of indemnifying working men for loss which he

has incurred through no fault of his own. The economic question as I understand it is simply a question of ingenuity. The business of economics is to work out the scheme by which that theory can be put into practice, and we have been listening here to suggestions on that line. It has been mentioned that in the case of accidents the employer, or the business, rather, in European countries, indemnifies the laborer. We might mention also the establishment of employment agencies. There is one example in this country where a state legislature has met this question in a practical way, and I do not know that it has involved any undermining of initiative. The state of Massachusetts some five or six years ago provided for a large construction for supplying water to the metropolitan district. In condemning the real estate in the area of the water shed provision was made for indemnifying property owners. In the same act provision was also made for indemnifying the laborers who were thrown out of employment in those villages. The law was a very simple one. It did not require that the laborers should accept any job which should be offered to them, but it was estimated that on the whole it would take a man six months to find another job, and then provided that any laborer or group of laborers might join in an action before a proper court, and upon proving that they had resided in that place and had had employment for a period of one year, they could collect from the state a sum equivalent to six months' wages. It placed them upon their own initiative and responsibility in the matter of finding a new job and moving out of that town, but at the same it placed the burden of caring for them during this loss of employment, through no fault of their own, upon the state which was to be benefited thereby.

Now, I am not claiming that I have a scheme by which a similar provision could be made for those who lose employment through improvements in mechanical processes. The case mentioned was undoubtedly an enterprise undertaken distinctly by the state with the known result that labor would be displaced. There are more difficult problems of course in the case of laborers displaced by improvements in processes. Probably the difficulty in identifying the laborer who lost the job, would be more important than any other, but it does not strike me that a like difficulty arises in inquiry where the burden should lie. The gain to the employer or the gain to the public is found to be the net income of the employer or the capitalist, or the taxpaying class, and it would seem to me that an income tax, perhaps laid upon corporations, or a tax of similar character would assure, as near as we could possibly assure in any scheme, the advantage gained through increased economics from improved processes. If we set about as economists trying to discover practical means for indemnifying the laborer I think we can find lessons from other countries and different states, and draw upon our own economic foundation for plans which would be practical and would combine theory and practice.

EDWARD T. DEVINE: Professor Tuttle appears to me to have taken hold of one corner of a large problem, from which he has vainly attempted to separate the particular part in which he is interested. It is a curious fact, that those who have become profoundly interested in some one aspect of the great problem of relief, almost invariably begin their propaganda for reform by discovering and insisting upon a great gulf between what they wish to remedy on the one hand, and all other

remedial movements on the other. The fact is, however, that the problem of relief is one, whatever the varying causes that create it. Its urgency and its magnitude have not been realized; more adequate measures are required to meet existing needs. Immigration; the ravages of sickness, and especially of the great scourge, tuberculosis; industrial displacement, both in ordinary times, and especially in times of depression; bad housing conditions, and all the other forces creating dependency, must equally be analysed and understood. When the causes of dependency are found to be social rather than individual, as they are in many instances, we must discover by what method the burden can be transferred from the individual and the family, who now suffer vicariously as an incident to industrial and social progress, and placed instead upon the broad shoulders of the community. Professor Tuttle is right in his contention that industrial displacement, to some extent, presents such a case, but wrong in attempting to show that the displaced laborer has a claim different from that of other dependent families, whose claims are equally against society as a whole. No scheme can be devised which will enable us to compensate a laborer for being displaced. Any such scheme, however carefully guarded, would inevitably put a bonus upon inefficiency, since it is the inefficient who in any well managed industrial enterprise are first allowed to go. Society should, as a matter of sound policy meet such a situation, but should meet it with direct reference to the actual experience of the one who is displaced. The nature of the relief supplied,—whether it be cash payment; transportation to some other place, where work is to be had; the supply of tools for new work, or whatever else it may be, must have reference to the past history and the capacity of

the individual who is thus aided ; in other words, the situation must be dealt with as a problem of relief precisely as we would deal with the needs of a family whose breadwinner has died from consumption, a cause of dependency for which the community is itself chiefly responsible.

THE NEGRO IN THE YAZOO-MISSISSIPPI DELTA.

BY ALFRED HOLT STONE.

Among the many disturbing questions entering into our complex national life, the one above all others that seems to have provoked discussion in every quarter, is the so-called negro problem. Under this general designation have come to be embraced all the various and complicated questions arising from the contact at many points of the black race with the white. Not since the formation of this government has this discussion ceased, and ignorance has never been a bar to free participation in it. In a discussion of these questions in their broader aspects, though I have devoted some years to their consideration, I can claim no peculiar knowledge—no superior wisdom. The problem is so extensive in its ramifications, it presents so many and such varied phases, that to my mind there is but one proper and reasonable method of considering it: that is, through the analysis and study of its component parts—the attempted grasp and comprehension of the minor and elemental conditions and problems which enter into the composition of the whole. The intelligent study of this question must resolve itself at last into a study of local conditions.

A lifetime spent in the “blackest” of the south’s “black belts”; a sharer in the association between the two races in the life of the plantation,—the most constant and intimate association that is possible between them; a thorough acquaintance with the conditions surrounding the negro in a section wherein I firmly believe

will be discovered the region of his greatest material possibilities; these constitute my only equipment in venturing upon this discussion. It is to a consideration of local conditions only that this paper is addressed.

In the state of Mississippi, between the 32nd and 35th parallels of north latitude, its entire western border washed by the Mississippi river, and most of its eastern by the Yazoo, extending north from the confluence of those streams at a point just above the city of Vicksburg, lies the strip of territory known as the Yazoo-Mississippi delta. The exact origin of the word delta, as applied to this region, is not clear; though it was probably a simple extension of the old and accepted use of the word, descriptive both of the character and of the peculiar formation of the land built up by the diverging mouths of large silt-bearing streams. The character of the soil certainly justifies such a conclusion, for it is entirely of alluvial formation, detritus deposited during thousands of years in which the Mississippi has poured out its muddy flood waters over the adjacent country.

The Yazoo-Mississippi delta is about one hundred and fifty miles in length, and its greatest width is about one-third of that. Its front along the Mississippi is protected against overflows of that river by an unbroken line of levees, three hundred and ten miles in length, averaging fifteen feet in height, with a maximum of about thirty. The delta differs radically from the rest of Mississippi in many important respects, but in none more than in those wherein the negro is immediately concerned; hence only the nine counties lying wholly within it, Bolivar, Coahoma, Issaquena, Leflore, Quitman, Sharkey, Sunflower, Tunica and Washington, are considered here. The alluvial valley of which these counties form a most important part has been called by

the most distinguished member of the Mississippi river commission, Judge Robert S. Taylor, of Indiana, "the cream jug of the continent." Of it he has written: "Nature knows not how to compound a richer soil. It can no more lie idle than the sea can keep still. Every square foot of it riots in vegetable life. . . . Its [the Mississippi's] floods came down loaded with skimmings from the great watershed above. Overtopping its banks, the enriched water spread far and wide over the alluvial area, so obstructed in its flow by the dense growth covering the land that its slackened velocity compelled it to let fall its load of sediment as it went. Thus the floods built up the valley year by year in layers of fatness, to live again in incalculable crops of grain, fruits and fibers."¹

By what warrant does this region claim attention in a consideration of America's gravest question? Simply because of the part it plays, and is destined to play, in the lives and fortunes of a constantly growing percentage of America's negro population. This has long been recognized by the authority just quoted. He says: "A feature of special interest in this connection [he was discussing the matter of levee protection] is the opportunity which the reclamation of the alluvial valley offers to the negro to better his condition. One-half or more of its entire area is suitable for cultivation of cotton. A bale per acre of ginned cotton, weighing five hundred pounds, is the standard yield—worth from thirty to fifty dollars according to the ups and downs of the market. . . . The negro is not seizing this golden opportunity as the white pioneer of the Northwest would have seized it, but he is not wholly neglecting it.

¹ Tompkins, *Riparian lands of the Mississippi river*, p. 234.

In considerable and increasing numbers they are buying land and becoming independent cultivators. Nowhere else in the south are as favorable opportunities offered to the black man as in the reclaimed Mississippi lowlands, and nowhere else is he doing as much for his own up-lifting."¹

The section of this territory with which we are concerned embraces an area of 5,480 square miles, containing about three and one-quarter million acres of land, with a population of 195,346. Of these but 24,137 are white, while the blacks number 171,209, a proportion of 7.1 blacks to 1 white. This proportion has increased steadily from 4.9 to 1 in 1880 and 6.7 to 1 in 1890, while in Mississippi as a whole it is almost stationary, being now 1.4 to 1, as against 1.3 to 1 in 1890 and 1880. I think I am not in error in stating that the largest proportion of blacks to whites exhibited by the last census for any part of the United States is found in one of the counties of this group, Issaquena, in which it is 15.5 to 1. In the same county the proportion was 15.7 to 1 by the eleventh census, and 11.1 to 1 by the tenth. Of the white inhabitants of the state but 3.7 per cent. are found in the delta, while 18.8 per cent. of all Mississippi's negro population make it their home. Comparison with former censuses shows this per cent. for whites to be practically at a standstill, while that for the negro is steadily increasing. In 1890 these percentages were 3.5 for the white and 17.7 for the negro, and in 1880, 3.4 and 12.6 respectively. From 1880 to 1890 the per cent. of increase of the white population of the United States was 26.7, and that of the negro 13.5. For the state of Mississippi these percentages were 13.7 for the one, and 14.2 for the other. During

¹ *Idem*, pp. 236, 237.

that decade the white population of the delta increased by only 17.3 per cent., while the increase of the black was no less than 60.4 per cent. Between the eleventh census and the twelfth, the white population of the country increased 21.4 per cent., and the negro 18.1. The figures for Mississippi exhibit a white increase of 17.6 per cent., with 22.2 for the negro. In the delta section of the state the increase was 23.5 for the white race, and 30.2 for the black. The last census shows that the negro constitutes 11.6 per cent. of the total population of the country, 58.5 per cent. of that of Mississippi, and 87.6 per cent. of that of the Yazoo-Mississippi delta.

Yet here we hear nothing about an ignorant mass of negroes dragging the white man down; we hear of no black incubus; we have few midnight assassinations, and fewer lynchings. The violation by a negro of the person of a white woman is with us an unknown crime; nowhere else is the line marking the social separation of the two races more rigidly drawn, nowhere are the relations between the two more kindly. With us race riots are unknown, and we have but one negro problem—though that constantly confronts us,—how to secure more negroes.

For many years this region was largely a *terra incognita*, and the story of its development and opening explains the figures of negro population. The character of its white population, and the conditions under which its soil is tilled explain the relations between the white man and the black. Until recently the only means of communication between the delta and the outer world were river boats, for not till 1883 was it penetrated by a railroad. We have only to compare the statistics of

negro population of the eleventh census with those of the tenth to see the results of railway construction.

The early settlers were from Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee. They were all slave holders, and the nature of the enterprises upon which they embarked demanded the possession of means. Hence this section early came to be the seat of large planting operations. There was no place for the man who was unable to own slaves ; no demand for his services, other than as an overseer. There were no small farms, no towns, no manufacturing enterprises, no foothold for the poor white, who is here a negligible, if not an absolutely unknown, quantity.

Every step taken in the development of this section has been dependent upon, and marked by, an increased negro population. The railroad rights of way through its forests have been cut out by the negro, and every mile of track laid by his hands. These forest lands have been converted by him into fertile fields, and their subsequent cultivation has called for his constant service. The levees upon which the delta depends for protection from floods have been erected mainly by the negro, and the daily labor in field and town, in planting and building, in operating gins and compresses and oil mills, in moving trains, in handling the great staple of the country,—all, in fact, that makes the life behind these earthen ramparts,—is but the negro's daily toil. The capital, the devising brain, the directing will, constitute the white man's part, the work itself is the negro's. Nowhere else does manual labor find a higher or more certain wage ; nowhere do better relations exist between employer and employed ; nowhere are capital and labor on better terms. There are no strikes, no

lockouts, no combinations, no operating on half time, no reductions of force, and the works never shut down.

One of the gravest causes of trouble between the two races is contact on a common industrial plane. A peculiar effect is almost invariably wrought upon the negro's attitude toward the white man by such association, exemplifying the truth of the old maxim that "familiarity breeds contempt." I am not now discussing its cause, but one who knows the negro masses knows that their ingrained admiration for wealth and station, strong as it is, is no more controlling a mental habit than is their lack of respect for the opposite conditions. This is as true in the mines of the north as in the fields of the south.

If I were asked what one factor makes most for the amicable relations between the races in the delta I should say without hesitation the absence of a white laboring class, particularly of field laborers. It cannot be accounted for on the hypothesis that we have a peculiar class of negroes, for this population is a commingling of blacks from every section of the south, brought here without the slightest process of selection. The white population is composed of the professional class, those engaged in mercantile and manufacturing pursuits, and those interested in cotton planting, either as owners or managers. The white artisans are so few in number as not to affect this division, and the relations between them and the negro are identical with those between the two masses of population. Of the field of manual labor the negro holds a practical monopoly.

In saying¹ that each year his feeling grew stronger "that perhaps in the heat of passion, growing out of

¹Tuskegee Normal Institute, Annual report, 1901.

racial and sectional prejudice, we have not given the southern people due credit for the immense amount of help rendered the negro during the period he was a slave," that he was then "started on the foundation of agriculture, mechanic and household arts", Booker T. Washington has but given expression to a conviction which unprejudiced study would make universal. I am thoroughly satisfied that the conditions existing here to-day are largely a heritage from the slavery régime. By the violence of the civil strife which wrought the destruction of southern social and economic conditions, the delta was probably less affected than any other equal area in the south. For this its isolation and inaccessibility easily account. Out of the ruin which was the legacy of war to the southern states no section emerged with less of violent change as regarded race relations.

In the *Contemporary Review* for July, 1900, Mr. Philip Alexander Bruce has drawn a faithful picture of the old plantation system of the south. He says truly that "the most distinctive feature of the old industrial order", next to slavery, "was the large plantation." He describes the plantation as having been frequently a small principality in extent, the planter the absolute master of his own domain, "his word the supreme law, his wishes the governing influence." Mr. Bruce then sets against this a picture of agricultural conditions in the south of to-day, telling us that "the ruin of the old plantation system is complete." His portrayal of the essential features of the old system fairly describes existing conditions in the delta. Here the era of small farms has not set in, the process of land division has not begun. On the contrary, most of the large plantations are growing larger, and such small farms as do

exist have not been erected upon the ruins of larger tracts. Change of ownership has not meant disintegration, but has been effected by sales of property entire.

It may be remarked here, parenthetically, that the census rule treating every tract of land on which agricultural industry is conducted as a farm, while doubtless essential to thorough investigation, is misleading to the student who is ignorant of local conditions that materially modify the application of this method of classification. In the language of bulletin 100, Agriculture in Delaware, "The number of farmers, that is, persons operating farms as owners or tenants, is the same at any period as the number of farms." Thus every holding becomes a "farm", and a tract of 1,000 acres, known locally as a plantation, though entirely under one ownership and management, would appear in census reports as so many different farm holdings, the number being dependent upon the number of tenants living on it during the census year, the average acreage governed by the size of these various, arbitrary and temporary subdivisions. That such figures, unless accompanied by an explanatory note, lead to inaccurate conclusions, is well illustrated in an article in the *Boston Transcript*, May 25, 1901, based upon the showings of the ninth census. Taking Mississippi as a "typical state", the writer concluded—and this was for 1870—that the figures showed "a revolutionary increase in the small farms", "the great plantations of some states being almost entirely eliminated, as in the black counties of Mississippi."

The plantations of this section vary in size from five hundred to several thousand acres, and the proportion of negroes to white men living on them, from 25 to 1

to more than 100 to 1. Yet there is now no more feeling of fear on the white man's part whether for himself or his wife or his children, than in the days of slavery. As in the olden time, so now, the word of the planter or his representative is the law of the place, and on the one hand we have implicit obedience, on the other, firmness and moderation. Certainly the relation of master and slave no longer exists here, but out of it has been evolved that of patron and retainer. I so designate it because I know of no other to which it more nearly approaches. It is not at all one purely of business, the ordinary relation of landlord and tenant, or of employer and employee. The plantation owner or manager expects to do more than merely to see to the physical needs of the negroes under him, to provide for their wants and look over their work. He is called upon to settle family quarrels, to maintain peace and order between neighbors, to arbitrate disputes, to protect wives from the punishment of irate husbands, frequently to restore broken conjugal relations upon terms satisfactory to both parties, to procure marriage licenses and advise as to divorces, to aid in the erection of churches, to provide for the burial of the dead, to give counsel in the thousand and one matters peculiar to the plantation negro's life, whether whimsical or grave. Every plantation negro expects the discharge of these functions as a mere matter of course. Yet further, when in more serious trouble, he looks to the white man as to a friend, and appeals to him as to a protector, when a possible term in jail or the penitentiary looms up before him, and lawyers and bail are to be provided. All these things are mere incidents to the plantation system, the commonplace affairs of its daily routine. The negro regards them as his due, in return

for the proprietary interest and pride he feels in the plantation at large, his sense of being part and parcel of a large institution, and the certainty, in his own mind, that he himself is necessary to its success. Then too, there is his never failing assurance of ability to pay his account, no matter how large, his labor, when it is not too wet or too cold, his respect, and his implicit, and generally cheerful, obedience.

The one thing which in the south, directly and indirectly, has been the source of the gravest trouble between the races, and which has most disastrously worked their separation, has been the crime of rape. That it should lead to lynching was inevitable; it was equally inevitable that in time the same mode of punishment would be extended to less grave offenses. At the April meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Dr. George T. Winston, of North Carolina, presented a most sombre picture of existing southern race conditions. He said: "The southern woman with her helpless little children in solitary farm house no longer sleeps secure in the absence of her husband, with doors unlocked but safely guarded by black men whose lives would be freely given in her defense. But now, when a knock is heard at the door, she shudders with nameless horror. The black brute is lurking in the dark, a monstrous beast, crazed with lust. His ferocity is almost demoniacal. A mad bull or a tiger could scarcely be more brutal. A whole community is now frenzied with horror, with blind and furious rage for vengeance. A stake is driven; the wretched brute, covered with oil, bruised and gashed, beaten and hacked and maimed, amid the jeers and shouts and curses, the tears of anger and of joy, the prayers and maledictions of thousands of civilized people, in the sight of school-houses, court-

houses and churches is burned to death. . . . I do not hesitate to say that more horrible crimes have been committed by the generation of negroes that have grown up in the south since slavery than by the six preceding generations in slavery. And also that the worst cruelties of slavery all combined for two centuries, were not equal to the savage barbarities inflicted in retaliation upon the negroes by the whites during the last twenty years.”¹

This forbidding picture is the best support for my contention that the wisest and most helpful study of this combination of intricate problems is from the local point of view,—the exhibition of conditions as presented upon particular horizons. From contrasts and comparisons some good may finally be realized. To be able to say that to one section of the south, at least, this picture presents not one familiar feature, is possibly alone enough to justify my presence here. I do not deny that this is a true statement of conditions in many sections of the south. I know too well that for many it is not overdrawn. I do not even assert that it is not more nearly typical of the south at large than is my own. But I do say that into the minds of the white men and women of my section, where not far from ninety per cent of all our people are black, where in our rural districts they sometimes outnumber us as much as one hundred to one, the thought of the possibility of rape never comes. Nor do I believe that in all this region there is a single plantation on which may not be found negroes who if left by the owner or manager in charge of his home would not fail to take the life of any man, white or black, attempting violence. They would know what was expected of

¹ Amer. Acad. of pol. and soc. sci.. *Annals*, 18:108-9.

them, and that for the uttermost discharge of that duty not one hair of their heads would be harmed.

What is the cause of this difference between geographic divisions of a common country? I answer that our freedom from this curse is merely incidental to the general relations obtaining between the races, and properly ascribable to the general station and character of the white population, to the persistence of the same relative status between the masses of the two races that existed when the one was master and the other slave. Then the negro was bred to absolute obedience, made to respect the white race because it was white, taught that the person, even the name, of the humblest white woman was something not to be profaned by touch or word or thought. That feeling among the negroes, the result of this training, had enough vitality to project itself through the civil war, and through that period rendered safe the white woman who in the absence of her male protector typified in herself the dominance of her race. Through the influence of novel conditions in the process of time it began to disappear, and synchronously rape came to add its horrors and complications to the race problem. The influences and relations and peculiar lines of contact which wrought in the negro that mental habit are potent to-day in the delta, and in consequence rape is a crime we do not fear. I believe that this psychological habit is still latently persistent in the negro masses, and but requires contact with conditions approaching those which produced it to become again a controlling force. Thus I would account for the fact that in a negro population drawn from every quarter of the south there is absence not merely of the crime of rape, but of even the slightest disrespect to white women.

The peculiar attitude of the negro toward those upon

an equality with himself, makes possible such relations only where between the masses of the two races there is rigidly maintained the status of superior and inferior. This is not possible where a white laboring class comes into contact with the same negro class. To illustrate my general proposition, as seen from the negro's own standpoint, I may cite the following. In owning and operating a cotton plantation, I have come into relations with negroes from all sections of the country, and have had fair opportunities for observation. Before the abolition of the system, I was for a time a lessee of convicts from the state penitentiary. Among the prisoners allotted me was a particularly bright and efficient mulatto of about twenty-five years of age. He had a common school education, and was apt and skillful. He was serving a sentence for an attempted criminal assault upon a seventeen year old white girl in a county of my state where conditions obtain radically different from those existing with us. I was anxious to know how, if at all, he accounted for his crime, but he was reluctant to discuss it. Finally he said to me: "You don't understand,—things over here are so different. I hired to an old man over there by the year. He had only about forty acres of land, and he and his folks did all their own work, cooking, washing and everything. I was the only outside hand he had. His daughter worked right along side of me in the field every day, for three or four months. Finally one day, when nobody else was round, hell got into me and I tried to rape her. But you folks over here can't understand,—things are so different. Over here a nigger is a nigger, and a white man is a white man, and it's the same with the women". There was not the slightest intimation of accessory guilt on the girl's part; his only explana-

tion of his act was that "things were different". There was no fault upon the part of the attempted victim of his lust. Her only crime was a poverty which compelled her to do work which in the estimation of the negro was reserved as the natural portion of his own race, and the doing of which destroyed the relation which otherwise would have constituted a barrier to his brutality. I do not cite this as a typical instance, for many cases of rape occur wherein there is not even the occasion or opportunity of enforced familiarity. I give it for what it is worth, as the expression of a very intelligent negro.

If my theory is at fault, I should like to be told why it is that the delta negro never assaults a white woman, but does commit rape upon the women of his own race. This section while containing 18.8 per cent. of Mississippi negroes now furnishes 21.7 per cent. of the negro population of the state prison. Of the total number of convicts from the delta, 4.9 per cent. are serving sentences for rape. These convictions are upon presentments to grand juries solely by negroes, and from the circumstances are necessarily had solely upon negro testimony. It is a difficult crime to prove, but taking no account of the alleged cases, of those in which there seemed to the grand jury insufficient evidence to warrant an indictment, of those resulting in acquittals on the ground of consent, and of those which never came to the notice of the law at all, the number of convictions of delta negroes for the rape or attempted rape of negro women, during the past four years, is twelve. In 1898, there were three; one in the following year; three in 1900, and in 1901, to September 30th, there were five. The ages of those committing this crime range from sixteen to fifty-four, all but three being between twenty and

thirty-one. Some have been committed under circumstances as revolting as it is possible for the human mind to conceive.

✓ Returning to the description of the economic condition of the negroes in my neighborhood let me say a word as to one of the most discussed features of the negro's life in the south, the house in which he lives. In the towns, where the negro rents or owns his home, it is whatever his ability commands, from a bare shelter, to a well furnished house containing four to six rooms. On the plantations the one-room cabin, that *bête noire* of social scientists, is not in evidence. They disappeared many years ago. Where one still stands it is deserted or temporarily occupied by cotton pickers or day hands. In the competition for laborers a steadily improving class of plantation houses is not the least of the inducements offered. If a family lives in a one-room cabin, it is a matter purely of choice; there are hundreds of a different kind to be had.

In the cultivation of cotton we have in the delta nearly every system of labor to be found in the south. They are roughly divisible into two classes, the more general being the true metayer, or some modification of it, and the other the fixed cash rental. Where the negro does not own the soil he cultivates, his relation to it is either that of a renter or a cropper. The share system presents no peculiar features. The cropper furnishes his labor in planting, cultivating and gathering the crop; the land owner furnishes the land, the team and the implements; and the crop is divided equally between them. The planter advances to the cropper such supplies as are needed during the year, to be paid for out of the latter's half of the crop. As soon as a quantity of cotton sufficient to pay this account has been

delivered to the planter, the cropper frequently receives his portion of the cotton, to be disposed of as he sees fit. The extent to which the cropper exercises control over his cotton varies with the locality.

The features of land renting by negroes vary according to the nature of the tenancy, whether the land is part of a plantation under white supervision, or a small tract, or part of a plantation entirely rented by a non-resident landlord. In the first case the land is rented for a fixed sum per acre, varying, with cotton prices and the character of the soil, from five to seven dollars. Where a lint rent is taken it varies from eighty to one hundred pounds. Generally speaking, the supervision over a renter is not as strict as that over a cropper, and as soon as his account is paid his cotton is at his own disposal. More privileges and a larger measure of independence are considered by the negro as incident to this tenure, and as he becomes the owner of a mule it is his ambition to become a renter. It frequently happens that a planter will rent a mule to a negro who has nothing at all, the uniform rent being twenty-five dollars. Under each of these systems certain general features obtain. The planter takes no deed of trust, for the state statutes give him a lien on the crop for rent and supplies. Nor is it usual to have any written contract other than a mere memorandum. There is generally no definite understanding as to the amount of supplies to be advanced, and it is well within the truth to say that usually the planter is engaged in an effort to keep the negro's account within such limits as will make it safe, while the negro is equally anxious to obtain as much as he can on credit.

The negro discriminates between the two systems, yet when results are considered, when one sees him

squander from year to year the proceeds of his labor, however obtained, when he is seen to move restlessly and aimlessly from place to place, gathering less moss than the proverbial rolling stone, it must appear to the close observer that, as a matter of fact, the system under which he works makes but little difference in his material welfare.

Where the negro rents land not under the supervision of plantation management, he obtains his supplies from a merchant or cotton factor. Here we have the crop lien system, so often, so earnestly, and, in my judgment, so unjustly inveighed against. What the negro obtains from the factor, and the manner of his getting it, depend largely upon himself. Usually his advances consist only of supplies, furnished him monthly or weekly. The only money advanced is such as the contingencies of cultivating or gathering the crop make necessary. The negro is dealt with just as his established reputation and the value of the security he has to offer may justify. The factor's method of self-protection is to take a deed of trust on the live stock and prospective crop, and is the same whether the applicant be a two-mule negro renter, or the white owner of a thousand acres of land, wanting ten thousand dollars of advances. The latter attaches his signature to a printed trust deed like that signed by the former covering his mules and crop to be grown. The amount advanced is governed by the character of the individual and the security. There is, however, this difference; the white man gets his advances in cash, available at stated intervals, while the negro gets the most of his in the shape of supplies. If, however, the negro has established for himself a reputation and credit, and is entitled to it under the standard applying to the white man, he can

secure advances in the same manner. On the other hand, if the white man is the owner of only two mules, he gets his just as does the negro. Of negroes of reputation and credit, there are in the delta a great many; of white men without property there are, fortunately for all concerned, extremely few. It is a matter of credit, and not of race.

Nor is the business custom which thus discriminates an arbitrary one. Experience has taught no lesson more severely than that the average negro will throw away—and I use the expression advisedly—whatever money comes into his hands. If he would refrain from this practice for a few generations, he could own from top to bottom and from side to side the section in which I live. Even where money is furnished the ordinary negro, it has to be done most carefully; for experience with padded pay-rolls and cotton that failed to make in the bale what the figures promised in the picking is so common as to excite no comment. Aside, however, from any consideration of honesty, the number of negroes who will not squander and utterly misapply funds coming into their hands—whether received under a solemn obligation to use them in making good the security pledged, a growing crop, or as the result of twelve months of toil—is so small that considerations of common business necessity dictate the course pursued. The negroes who are independent renters supplying themselves, or land owners, constitute practically the small thrifty class.

As to the crop lien system, *per se*, I regard it as distinctly the poor man's opportunity. Under it a negro who is honest—honest with himself in his work, and honest with those with whom he deals—who does not

waste his money on excursions, picnics, crap games, whiskey, women and pinchbeck jewelry, can out of this soil easily and quickly become an independent man. The proposition appears too simple to argue. Knowing the capabilities of the soil, the cotton factor knows that it alone can be made to repay what he advances in its cultivation. Upon the security of a lien upon what it shall produce he is willing to make possible its cultivation by one who would otherwise be unable to obtain advances. I believe the figures submitted below will demonstrate that the delta negro, by the exercise of common thrift and economy, can become independent as the result of two or three years labor. But so long as he wastes his money and opportunities, as is now his too common habit, the particular system under which he accomplishes these barren results need occasion economists and himself but little concern. Because better results are not more visible in the way of a greater apparent negro prosperity, we sometimes hear it asserted that even here the black man is denied opportunities for his betterment. This is a superficial observation, based upon conditions resulting from a failure of a proper achievement, rather than from the absence of opportunity.

One of the greatest factors in our demand for negroes is the necessity of securing each year a great number of extra cotton pickers. It is an axiomatic proposition with us that no negro family will pick the cotton which it will raise. Not that it cannot be done; on the contrary in an average year, and by the exercise of due diligence, it can; but it will not. In order to save the crop it is necessary to employ additional pickers. The size of the stalk and the great number of bolls make cotton picking on alluvial land very easy work; the utter dis-

regard, by planter and tenant alike, of the true economy of the situation makes it a lucrative employment. Picking is paid for without much regard to the price which cotton commands. Whether it be worth ten cents per pound or six, the price of picking remains very near to fifty cents per hundred pounds of seed cotton. During the fall months a good picker can easily average two hundred pounds, while many can pick as much as three hundred and fifty, per day. One of the most difficult matters of plantation management is to get the tenant to act upon the proposition that every hundred pounds of cotton picked by himself means a saving to him of the cost of picking. The opening of each season finds most of them clamorous for extra pickers.

To supply this autumnal demand for labor the towns empty themselves of great numbers of their negro population. The vagrant leaves for a season his accustomed haunts, the crap shooter and "rounder", in fewer numbers, betake themselves to the country to earn easily a few unfamiliarly honest dollars, and to ply their vocation among their rural friends, the cooks and wash-women desert their regular callings to such an extent as to make the season a time of dread for urban house-keepers. Yet this source of labor is soon exhausted, and the business of securing pickers from towns outside this section and from other states and other parts of Mississippi is regularly pursued by a number of negro "agents". Of the great number of negroes thus brought yearly into the delta, many remain to make crops themselves, attracted by the superior growth of cotton, and the display of money always incident to the season. I have seen more than a thousand dollars in silver paid out of a plantation office on Saturday night for extra picking alone, and in the presence of a curious,

eager throng, coming from sections in which such a thing as a handful of negroes handling so much cash as the result of one week's plantation work would seem almost incredible. Such things, taken with the novel surroundings, the large talk of negroes making more cotton and handling more money than many white farmers elsewhere, the scale on which affairs are carried on, such as the measuring and selling of cotton seed by negroes by the ton instead of the bushel, the evidences of plenty and to spare furnished by the spendthrifts around them—for your delta darkey, especially when in the presence of his brother from some less favored section, is as free a spender as the world affords—all this tends to fire the stranger with a desire to come into this land of plenty. It is thus that much of our labor is recruited, and some of it the best we have especially during the first two or three years of residence.

So far as I can judge, the delta negro presents no peculiar social phenomena. His life is the same which the race leads in sections where its material opportunities are not so great. The only difference I can observe is that there may be a greater tendency to the commission of crimes against the person. For purposes of comparison, I have taken the negroes of a group composed of the nine counties of Mississippi where they are most largely outnumbered by the whites. To this group for convenience I shall apply the local designation, "hill" counties. In this group the proportion of whites to blacks is more than four to one, as against a reverse proportion of more than seven to one in the delta group. We have seen that in the latter the negroes constitute 18.8 per cent. of the total negro population of the state; in the hill group they constitute but 2.6 per cent. We have seen that the delta fur-

nishes 21.7 per cent. of the negro state prison population; the hills contribute 3.4 per cent. A comparison of the crimes of the two groups discloses the fact that 50.1 per cent. of those in the hills and only 19.3 per cent. of those in the delta are burglaries, larcenies, forgeries and arsons. Crimes against the person make up 80.7 per cent. of the offenses of delta negroes, and 49.9 per cent. of those in the hills. It may seem somewhat singular that rape constitutes 6.2 per cent. of the graver crimes of the hill negroes, while, as has been shown, 4.9 are the figures for the delta. It is in the crimes of murder, manslaughter and attempts to kill that the delta negro exhibits his criminal propensity most strongly. These compose 75.8 per cent. of all of their felonies, and 43.7 per cent. of those of the hill negro. In the two crimes of larceny and burglary the hills district is far ahead of the other section, the percentage of total felonies being respectively 40.6 and 15.2.

In the lower class of negroes a predilection for petty gambling amounts almost to a passion. Their opportunity of indulging it depends upon their command of ready money. A majority of the murders committed in this section arise out of gambling. Therefore I would attribute the difference in the relative number of homicidal crimes committed by the negro in the two sections to the delta negro's greater command of money. Any one who has witnessed a genuine crap game, played as only the negro can play it, has no difficulty whatever in understanding how easy it is for human life to be taken in a dispute arising over the most trivial sum. It is an entirely conservative statement to say that on or near every delta plantation may be found from one to four regularly patronized crap tables, while in every town and village from one to a half-

dozen negro crap dives are run. Around these tables, specially on Saturday nights and Sundays, gather crowds of men and boys of all ages, scarcely one in five without a knife or pistol. It takes but a word to bring one or both into the game. Making no attempt to estimate the number of such affrays in which both parties are killed, and no trial possible, and not reckoning the number of killings in which the surviving party escapes, is acquitted by a jury or hanged, there are now in the penitentiary from this section alone no less than one hundred and fifty-four negroes serving sentences for taking, or attempting to take, human life. In the courts of this group of counties there were for these crimes in 1898 thirty-three convictions; in 1899, twenty-nine; in 1900, thirty-three; in 1901, to September 30, thirty-seven.

It would be idle to discuss such a matter as the sexual looseness which marks the conditions obtaining among the masses of these people. No new light could be thrown upon it, and no good accomplished thereby. It may be safely affirmed that the marriage contract possesses for them little if any sanctity. This may seem a hard saying, but no man acquainted with the facts will deny its truth.

In discussions of the negro we have been repeatedly told of late years that the race should be judged by its best element, and not by its worst, and that statistics of criminality were an unfair index to negro conditions. That it is unfair to base opinions and conclusions upon partial investigations is true. But it is equally true that we cannot form just estimates by considering only the few who have risen superior to general environments and are confessedly exceptional. The only true index to the life of a people is furnished by a study of its masses—

its great general class. It is with this mass in my section that I am dealing, and my statements would lose none of their force or truth by being met with the counter claim that there are negroes here who lead decent, respectable lives. No race as a race can rise superior to the condition of its family unit, and it is the disregard of the marriage relation, the brutality of husbands to their wives and of both to their children, which will probably for a long while most impress the student of the negro masses, rather than the fact that here and there may be found families and individuals who have adopted for themselves standards obtaining generally among another people.

One of the traits which militates most against the negro here is his unreliability. Given certain conditions one may reason to fairly certain conclusions regarding a white man. It is not so with the negro. He presents a bundle of hopelessly unintelligible contradictions. Take his migratory habit for instance as one manifestation of his characteristic unreliability. The desire to move from place to place, the absence of local attachment, seems to be a governing trait in the negro character, and a most unfortunate one for the race. It has led to the fixed conviction on the part of many people having constant business relations with him that in this respect the negro cannot be depended upon at all and that the treatment he receives has but little real effect in shaping his course. It is undeniable that there is abundant ground for the most extreme opinion. His mental processes are past finding out, and he cannot be counted on to do or not to do a given thing under given circumstances. There is scarcely a planter in all this territory who would not gladly make substantial concessions for an assured tenantry. I do not mean for

negroes who would stay with him always, and never take advantage of an opportunity for genuine betterment, but merely for such as would remain with him only so long as they were willing to work at all under the same conditions, and should receive honest and considerate treatment at his hands. Yet no planter among us can tell how many or which of his tenants of to-day will be his tenants of another year.

Not all negroes can become landed proprietors, any more than all mill operatives can become mill owners, or all wage earners capitalists. It is inevitable that there must always be a large class of negro tillers of other men's soil, corresponding to relative classes among all the races of mankind. It is then manifestly to the interests of these that they should seek for themselves conditions as nearly as possible approaching actual land ownership,—a fixed tenure, and the comforts of a home. This status need not mark the limit of advancement of all those entering it; it would but afford a stepping stone to such as proved themselves capable of turning good conditions into better. In all that I have said, I would not be understood as claiming that motives of self interest do not operate with the negro at all; I simply and emphatically assert that they do not at all intelligently control him.

The negroes in the delta not only make in the aggregate a tremendous amount of money, but they squander more than any similar class of people of whom I have any knowledge. There is no way of computing the amount expended by them in railway travel alone, but it is an enormous sum. This travel is for the most part entirely aimless, and it is a common thing for a negro to take a trip from a plantation to a town fifteen miles distant, with bare train fare in his pocket, and a crop

badly in need of his attention at home. On Saturdays field work is practically suspended and the day is usually given up to such aimless moving about, or to assembling around stations and stores to witness the arrivals and departures of others.

The greatest diversions of these people, however, are excursions and the circus. The former come at irregular intervals, from four to six times a year, and mean trips of from eighty to one hundred and fifty miles. The money spent on this form of amusement is nothing in amount to the annual tribute poured into the coffers of the circus. In the months of October and November two of the largest of these concerns now exhibiting gave a total of ten performances in the delta. Making a careful and conservative estimate of the amounts spent on the three items of railroad fare, incidentals and admissions, the sum total could not have been under fifty thousand dollars.

Among our negroes we have few drunkards, and but few who do not drink; nor is the drinking by any means confined to the men. Considering the prevalence of the habit, the only surprising feature is that so few drunkards should be found.

The line of demarcation between rural and urban life is so indistinct and persons pass so constantly from one to the other that there is not much difference between the negroes of the town and those of the country. In each place we find the good, the bad and the indifferent. As in the country we have the moving, shiftless element, so do we also have the shiftless darkey of the town; as in the one place we have the land owner or prosperous tenant, so in the other we have the man who owns his home, and has steady employment at excellent wages; the "rounder," the pistol carrier and the pro-

fessional crap shooter alike infest each. Throughout the delta there are negroes filling places of responsibility and trust. In the country the gin crews and engineers are practically all negroes, and there are negro foremen, agents and sub-managers. There are many constables, and there is in my county a negro justice of the peace. In my own town every mail carrier is a negro, and we have a negro on the police force. Some are employed by cotton factors and buyers, and earn from six hundred to a thousand dollars per annum. Others are employees of electric light companies, some are telephone linemen, and some are engaged in merchandising. Wages paid in the country range from fifty to seventy-five cents per day for common hands, though going sometimes to one dollar, up to \$1.25 and \$1.50 for gin crews. In levee work the commonest laborers receive \$1.00 per day, and the more skilled \$1.50. In towns the wages vary greatly. Hands in oil mills and compresses are paid from \$1.00 to \$2.00 per day, while the wages and earnings of porters, hackmen, dray drivers, teamsters, etc., range from ten to sixty dollars per month.

Mississippi makes no separate assessment of the property of the two races, and it is therefore impossible to arrive at the value of the property owned by the negro in the delta. The best that can be done is to estimate it. In 1900 the total assessed value of all the property in this group of counties was \$29,095,167. Of this amount railroad property constituted \$5,396,008, leaving a balance for realty and personality of \$23,699,159. Without going into the methods employed in reaching the result, I conclude that a conservative estimate of the value of negro holdings would be, in round figures, not less than one million dollars. This is probably encumbered to the extent of one half its value. I give this

estimate as a minimum figure, and the correct value may be much greater. It is hardly possible to judge the extent of the increase in negro property, but it is considerable, though by no means in keeping with the opportunities of the race. But even now one cannot travel through this section without observing negro land owners everywhere. They are scattered over its entire area, holding tracts varying in size from a town lot to more than a thousand acres.

In considering the negro's condition and opportunities here, the factors assume important proportions. The amicable relations between the races, the peculiarly fertile soil—the absence of the necessity for fertilizers alone meaning a great deal—and the superior quality of the cotton produced. Of race relations enough has been said; of the soil it is sufficient to say that it needs no fertilization. It has often been the occasion of curiosity to me to know what became of the fertilizer shown by the eleventh census to have been purchased by these counties. The amount expended is stated to have been only \$12,472, it is true, with a value of farms and products of \$16,771,090, but I have always doubted the accuracy of even these figures. Commercial fertilizer is an article unknown to us, and not handled by our dealers in plantation supplies.

The figures of the last census showing the comparative cotton acreage yield of this section, the state and the south, are not available, but it is not likely that much variation will be shown from those of the eleventh. These exhibit an average yield per acre of lint cotton for the south of 176.67 pounds, and for the state of Mississippi of 191.03 pounds. The yield of this county group was 257.87 pounds. It is only fair to state that the average of the state was increased by that of coun-

ties lying partly in the delta, but which, as explained above, have not been included here. While for a given year we have this average, the standard yield is with us five hundred pounds, and large areas will show a yield ranging between this and four hundred.

The cotton grown on this soil is much superior, both in the quality of its fiber and the length of its staple, to upland varieties. Taking its name from the fact of its growth in the bends of the Mississippi river at a time when it found its way to the port of New Orleans by means of boats plying that stream, it is known to the Liverpool, New Orleans and eastern markets as "benders," and commands a premium of about half a cent per pound over "uplands."

¹ In conclusion I shall submit some of the features and results of a personal experiment with negro labor, carried on under conditions differing somewhat from those generally obtaining. Several years' experience in cotton planting led to certain conclusions relative to the usual manner of handling plantation labor. I became convinced for one thing that too much latitude was allowed the negro in the matter of his account and in the handling of his crop. Observation and experience satisfied me that better results could be obtained, for both the negro and the planter, by requiring the former to conform more strictly to business rules, and by making the relations between the two, in crop and money matters, more nearly of a purely business character. I also entertained the belief, not yet entirely dissipated that a reliable, industrious, and largely self-sustaining, plantation tenantry could be built up by effort along proper

¹ The plan outlined here was a gradual development. In its execution credit is due Mr. Julian H. Fort, my business associate, and Mr. Carl Owens, manager of Dunleith plantation.

lines, coupled with a degree of liberality at the outset not entirely consistent with the general purpose of putting the negro on a strictly business footing.

Even casual observation will show that the greatest opportunity enjoyed by the negro for acquiring property is as a renter. It was determined, therefore, to adopt the rent system. The greatest objection to it is that, as it ordinarily obtains, it allows the negro privileges which he too often abuses. He does not take kindly to suggestion or direction as to what he shall plant, and wants to put practically all his land in cotton because it is a cash crop; he thinks he should be left free to work his crop when and as he pleases, which means frequently neglect, and oftener improper cultivation; having control of mules, he thinks that he should enjoy the privileges of riding them about the country, when both he and they should be at work, and of neglecting and poorly feeding them, if he so elect; in short, that he should enjoy various privileges and immunities which it is impossible to recite, but which are usually accorded by the custom of the country. These things mean that the negro as a renter is generally undesirable, often troublesome, and that his cultivation of land causes deterioration. To rent and yet avoid the difficulties ordinarily incident to the system was a problem solved by the use of a contract specifying in detail what was undertaken by each party, and reserving to the plantation management absolute control over all plantation affairs.

There is generally a great disproportion between the negro's ideas and his ability of execution; he wants to plant on as large a scale as possible, and will usually "overcrop" himself, undertake more land than he can cultivate, leading to the neglect of some, or all, of it.

It was accordingly determined to allot to each family only so much as it could cultivate thoroughly under all ordinary contingencies, believing that not only more money but an actually greater yield could be had by the tenant from twenty acres well handled than from twenty-five half neglected. Mules and implements were sold at reasonable prices and on two years time, one-half the purchase price payable annually. For handling the crop to the best advantage, as regards economy and grade, a thoroughly equipped gin plant was substituted for a less modern one, and as a means of lessening the cost of living to the tenant, and of encouraging the raising of corn, it was provided with a mill capable of making an excellent quality of meal, far more nutritious than the purchased, kiln dried article. The latter is operated once a week, the grinding being done for toll only, a bushel of meal being exchanged for a bushel of shelled corn. It may be remarked that during the three years of its operation there has been a marked increase in the demand for its services among the negroes of the neighborhood, many coming to it from distances of five and seven miles. Exercising the contract right of requiring the planting of as much corn as was deemed expedient, it was agreed, in return, that all surplus corn raised by the tenant would be taken off his hands at the market price.

In the accomplishment of the general objects in view, it was of as much interest to the plantation as to the tenant that the best possible price be realized for the latter's cotton. For this and other reasons, the privilege of absolutely controlling his crop was denied him. This was clearly stipulated in his contract, but he was not denied all voice in its disposition. He could sell it

to the plantation, if a mutually satisfactory price could be agreed upon, or he could let it go forward with the general crop, and have an accounting for its proceeds. One of the essentials to successful cotton growing here is thorough drainage. With this the tenant has nothing to do, it being stipulated that the land is to be kept well drained without cost to him.

Believing that not only is the laborer entitled to proper shelter, but that comfortable homes are a matter of plantation economy, these tenants are furnished excellently constructed houses, well lighted and heated. Each house has its driven well, kept in repair as an item of plantation expense. These houses, with the exception of some of three and four rooms, contain two rooms each, and are constructed with a view to accommodating a family working eighteen acres of land, that being the amount, per average family, from which the best results are found to be obtainable. It has been determined, however, in order to avoid any possibility of crowding, to add a third room to each of these houses. This is now being done, and within a year there will be no two-room houses remaining. Every effort is made to encourage tenants to raise gardens, and to own cattle and hogs, abundant pasturage being provided free. The proper care of live stock is rendered compulsory by close supervision.

To reduce the matter of advancing supplies as nearly as possible to a business system, a furnishing basis of fifty cents per acre, per month, for supplies only, was fixed upon. Incidentals usually require about twenty-five cents per acre additional. Each month the tenant is furnished a coupon book for the amount, in money, of his supplies, a twenty acre family receiving a ten dollar book, thirty acres securing one of fifteen dollars,

and so forth. These books are good only for supplies, such as meat, meal, tobacco, snuff and molasses, but it is agreed with the tenant that such coupons as he may have left in his book at the expiration of each month will be honored for whatever he wants. This is done with a view to encouraging economy, and to enable him to secure "extras" without increasing his account. Getting their meal without cost, by grinding corn, and getting flour in its stead out of their books, none of those who were on the plantation last year failed this year to secure with surplus coupons an abundance of sugar, coffee, rice, etc., at the end of each month to carry them through the following. This system possesses several advantages, not the least of which are that it saves the making of numerous small ledger entries, and enables the tenant to tell at any time during the month, from his unused coupons, the exact amount he has left to his credit, so that he may govern himself accordingly. The negroes regard the system with the utmost satisfaction, and would not exchange it for the usual method of "issuing rations".

To make a success of the system outlined here, three things were absolutely necessary: the utmost patience and good sense at the office, wise management, in the field, and discrimination in selecting tenants. Every negro known to be a professional crap shooter or pistol carrier was run off the place, all families known to be quarrelsome and troublesome were got rid of, and everybody whom it was necessary to compel to work was let go. Under no circumstances is a professional "exhorter", or lodge organizing preacher, allowed on the property. The virtue of patience has been exercised to a degree that has more than once threatened its destruction.

It would be manifestly unfair to judge such an experiment by its first year. This was a most troublesome, and, to the management, rather discouraging experience. Little was accomplished beyond getting affairs in easier running order. The third year is not yet closed, but promises results about in keeping with the second, the complete figures of which are available. There were in cultivation in 1900 thirteen hundred acres. The total value of the product was \$54,000, an average of a little more than \$41.50 per acre. There were on the place sixty-one families, containing eighty men and eighty-one women, including children old enough to work, and sixty-seven younger children, a total of 228 persons in families. These families occupied sixty-one houses, containing 147 rooms, an average of 1.5 persons to the room. There was an average of 3.7 persons to the family, while the average number of hands who assisted at some stage of the crop was 2.6. In addition to the families, there were eighteen wages hands employed, who, though separately housed, must be added to the number of working hands, giving a total of 179. We thus have an average acreage to the working hand of 7.2, with an average product value of \$301.67 per hand. Cotton was raised to the value of \$41,000, being 818 bales of 500 pounds average, or 4.5 bales, 2250 pounds, to the working hand. The yield was in excess of 450 pounds per acre of cotton land. It should be stated that while these wages hands assisted in various stages of the crop not all their time was thus employed by any means, for some tenants did not need extra hands at all. They were used, when not in crops, in clearing new land, ditching, and other plantation work.

The negroes with whom we started, in January, 1899, with possibly three exceptions, had absolutely nothing, barring their clothing, bedding and furniture,—all of the scantiest and poorest kind. It would be a most liberal estimate to put their entire belongings at that date at an average value per family of \$30. Yet they were an average lot of plantation negroes; they were of many ages, and came from many sections; of the older ones, most had had something, but had lost it in shifting from pillar to post, and at fifty and sixty years of age were empty handed; some had lived on a dozen different plantations in as many years. They had thus to start with us actually owing for their first week's supplies. After the lapse of three years, the average value of the property owned by the sixty and more families on the place may be conservatively estimated at \$200. This, of course, includes no cash on hand or to their credit on our books. After paying their accounts, the tenants on the place in 1900 received \$11,000 in cash. Their balances this year will amount to about the same figure. They have good clothing, their houses are now comfortably furnished, and for cooking purposes the open fire place has given way to the kitchen stove.

The following statement is drawn directly from the plantation ledger of 1900. It is the account of two men who worked together as a family. These hands were above the average in point of steadiness and efficiency, but the account is fairly illustrative of the possibilities to the negro of good soil, fair prices, hard work and economy. It will be noted that the value of their product per acre appears to be greater by about eight dollars than the average of the plantation, but this apparent difference will be explained by stating that in computing

the latter the entire acreage of the plantation was included. If we exclude from consideration all raw, first year land, such as was not allotted to renters, the difference will be shown to be very much less.

ACCOUNT.

DEBTS.

Land rent, 21 acres, \$6	126 00
Mule, paid for entirely in first year,	100 00
Gear and implements	18 50
Planting seed	10 30
Seed corn	1 15
Supply account	98 25
Sundries	18 20
Picking 6 ½ bales cotton	59 45
Ginning and wrapping 19 bales cotton, 500 lbs. av.	57 10
Mule feed	43 50
	<hr/>
	\$532 95

CREDITS.

Nineteen bales cotton	865 14
Cotton seed—9.4 tons	117 75
Corn—105 bushels—market price at time, 50 cts. ...	52 50
	<hr/>
	\$1035 39

Profits \$502.44.

Holding their corn, they had, as the result of the year's operations, property worth \$171.00. It will be seen that their cash crop overpaid their account by \$449.94.

As to the effect of the showing exhibited here upon the negro, if any, it is impossible to judge. Some of those who had least at the outset and have most to-day are preparing to leave—though they may change their minds in a night, after having made their arrangements to depart, while some have already left. To arrive at a just conclusion on this point at least five years would be required, and only such tenants as removed to other places to continue the tenant relation could be considered in enumerating the removals. It would be mani-

festly unfair, in considering the extent and influence of a migratory, restless habit, to attribute to it such as were actuated by opportunity and desire to purchase land. Of those who have thus far left the place, not one has done so to become a land owner.

All that I have said of general conditions in the delta applies, in greater or less degree, to all the 29,790 square miles of the alluvial valley of the Mississippi. The future of this territory will inevitably be linked with the future of the American negro. The movements of black population, as indicated by the last three censuses, show this clearly enough. In discussing the conditions surrounding the negro in the Yazoo-Mississippi delta, I have not attempted to present such a picture of rural felicity as John Stuart Mill quotes from Chateaubieux of the metayers of Piedmont. But I am well within the limits of conservatism when I assert that in the material potentialities of his environment the situation of the negro here is infinitely superior to that of any European peasant. It is not claimed that there are no instances of injustice to the negro. Not at all. But I do claim that nowhere else is his general treatment fairer,—nowhere is his remedy more certain. This is but corollary to the proposition that nowhere in the same extent of territory will be found a greater or more constant demand for his labor. Nowhere does he find a better market for his service, nowhere is he freer to change his local habitation.

To say how long conditions, particularly as regards the relations between the races, will remain as they are, would be to enter the field of speculation,—a pastime in which I am not engaged. The presentation which I have attempted is believed to be a not unfaithful portrayal of the present; with what the future holds in store, this paper has no concern.

DISCUSSION.

LE GRAND POWERS: In expressing my profound appreciation of the very able paper of Mr. Stone I believe that I voice the sentiment of all who have listened to it. He has placed the members of the society and all students of American social and industrial problems under a lasting obligation for his very lucid statement of the social and economic situation in the black belt of Mississippi. He is a resident of the section under discussion. He has lived and labored with and among the people of whom he has spoken so intelligently. I can not speak from his point of view. I have never visited the counties with which his paper deals, so I must approach the problem mainly from a theoretical point of view. All my studies lead me, however, to believe that Mr. Stone has most faithfully portrayed the conditions that prevail in his section. Permit me, however, to compare conditions as he finds them with those in other parts of Mississippi and in the other states of the nation. I do this that we may ascertain, if possible, what industrial organization offers the greatest probability of the black man rising in the moral, intellectual, and economic scale.

In the nine counties contained in the Yazoo-Mississippi delta the negro, as has been stated by Mr. Stone, is almost the only worker on the farms, in the factories, and about the homes. He performs not less than 95 per cent. of the labor on farms. In such a county as Issaquena he performs not less than 90 per cent. of such labor. Practically then, the negro in these counties does not come into competition with white labor on the same

plane. Neither is he associated at any point on an industrial equality with the white man. The negro does the work ; the white man is his acknowledged superior. The two races live and work in worlds that have but little in common.

In these nine counties the twelfth census reports 32,291 separate agricultural holdings, including as a holding or farm the land tilled by a given individual or family or for whose cultivation the tiller assumes a formal responsibility, bears the losses and pockets the gains, if any there be. Of these farms and holdings only 2,629 were operated by whites, and the remainder, 29,662 or 92.9 per cent. were operated by negroes. Of these negro farmers 2,091 or 7.1 per cent. owned some interest, great or small, in the land which they tilled. Let these figures be compared with those of the nine counties in the southeastern part of the state, the counties of Clarke, Greene, Harrison, Jackson, Jasper, Jones, Lauderdale, Perry and Wayne. These counties contain 14,629 farms, of which 9,315 or 63.7 per cent are operated by whites. The proportion of whites is relatively nearly eight times as great as in the nine counties of the delta. In these counties where more than one-half of the work on farms is done by white labor, the negro works where he can compare the results of his labor with those of the white man. He sees white men toiling and struggling and saving under the conditions such as those under which he must toil and save and struggle should he attain any competence or rise in the industrial scale. What is the result? In these counties where there are nearly two white farmers to every black one, there are 5,314 negroes in charge of farms or agricultural holdings. Of their number 2,374 or 44.7 per cent. own the whole or some part of the farms which they till. The number of

black farm owners is therefore relatively six times as great as in the delta counties where the black man is never in sight of a white man struggling under the same conditions as himself.

The negro starts in the industrial race heavily weighted. He is terribly handicapped by all the vicious and unreliable qualities which Mr. Stone has pictured. The negro can rise industrially only by the practice of the same virtues which advance the white man. He can acquire those virtues only by imitation or by the hard experience of life. The figures for the two sets of Mississippi counties show that in the nine hill counties with two white farmers for every negro this quality of imitation has been a tremendous uplifting power for the economic advancement of the colored man. In those counties the soil is inferior and the other material conditions less favorable than in the delta, and yet relatively the negro makes six times the progress.

The drifting of the negroes to the delta or their clannish separation by themselves, their drawing away from the white men of the south, is therefore to be considered, from an industrial point of view, a great mistake for the race. Their hope is in the white man of the south. This is true in all parts of the south. In the sections where the whites out-number the negroes, the negro must learn of the white man as his leader and teacher, and by imitation. In the delta and similar sections where the black man is segregated by his own acts or by the acts of others, it is otherwise. For such a section when pondering upon the economic progress of the black man I see but little hope save through experiments such as Mr. Stone has been making, where by the stern lesson of experience the negro is forced to

learn what in the hill counties of the south and in the counties of the north the negro learns in part by imitation from the whites.

What is true with reference to industrial matters I believe to be equally true with reference to morals and all that can bless, dignify and ennoble humanity. So far as I have had time critically to study Mr. Stone's figures relating to crime given by him to me in conversation, I read from them the same lesson that I have, from an industrial point of view, found in the census data given here.

The negro's contact and intimate relation with the white race has been and is the most potent factor for elevating their morals, as well as further reducing crime among them. Mr. Stone's figures show that murder, man-slaughter and attempts to kill are at least twice as frequent relatively among the delta negroes as in the counties with a preponderance of whites. He tells us about a large number of attempts at killing and also of rape upon colored women which have never been brought sufficiently to the public attention to be noted. These offences are far less frequent in the other counties. If account be taken of this fact it seems clear that the negro's brutal lust is more devilish in its violence in the delta than elsewhere, only the white women are not its victims. In the same way when account is taken of the relative opportunities for committing crimes against property ranked as felony in the delta and in the other counties, the student finds his hope for the black man centered in the counties where the whites out-number the blacks. The negro is an imitative being. Like all people on a low plane of civilization he needs the influence of example. This is the most important single factor in his elevation, and hence from the moral as well as industrial point of view we are to regret his segregation in

the delta counties, or in our city slums where he sees and comes in contact but little with the best side of the white man's civilization, with its patient, continuous labor, its personal frugality, its practice of the virtues. But when there is such segregation, again the only hope of any great advance for the negro is not in the material resources of the section where he makes his home, but in the self-sacrificing devotion to his real interests which we find exhibited by Mr. Stone and the best white leaders of the south.

MR. STONE: I have not had access to the data which Mr. Powers has referred to here, but I want to say a few words which will to a certain extent explain it. In order for these figures to illustrate the conditions as they really are, we must take into consideration the difference in the stability of population,—the length of time the negroes have lived in the nine counties of which he speaks, and the age of the negro population of the section which is covered in my discussion. Take the figures and make a comparison,—a just comparison. You must take the same number of people who have lived in the two districts the same length of time to see what has been accomplished. Now another factor which bears materially upon the value of the conclusions reached by Mr. Powers is that the lands in the counties to which he refers are in very many instances practically valueless. I know of a negro who bought five hundred acres of land over there at a price per acre which was one-fourth what he would pay in my section as rent. He bought it at a dollar and a half per acre, and if he had rented land from me or any other delta planter he would have had to pay six dollars or more per annum. Over in my section of the country, according to the showing made by Mr. Powers, the negroes

do not own as much land, but when they do acquire a piece of property they have something which is valuable. There are negroes in my section who are individually able to buy about all the land owned by all the negroes in the counties referred to by Mr. Powers.

Mr. POWERS: I would say that all facts in my possession confirm the statement relating to the average value of land in the several counties, as made by Mr. Stone. But here is a general fact concerning white men as a class which Mr. Stone seems to overlook. They get along in a material way better where material conditions are most favorable. They make better progress on good land than on poor land; in good times than in bad times. The same rule should apply to negroes. I think it does, other things being the same; and when it does not apply we can justly affirm that the difference is due to other causes, and not to the variation in land values to which Mr. Stone calls attention. Thus in Mississippi, in the eastern counties, under the hard conditions described by Mr. Stone, the negroes make some headway in acquiring land. They make a fair showing in which every lover of his kind can justly take interest. It is the reverse, so far as his position is concerned, in the delta counties with their rich, alluvial soil and all material conditions favorable. What is the reason for this difference? What factor is present affecting favorably the negro in the eastern counties with their poor soil, and acting unfavorably upon him in the counties with the good land? I find but one: the presence or absence of the white man and of his example on a plane that the negro can comprehend and imitate. Hence I assert that the negro profits by the example of the white man, and suffers when he can not have him as a model to follow and to imitate.

CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION IN THE COAL MINING INDUSTRY.

BY HERMAN JUSTL

The title of this paper would give the impression that a uniform system of conciliation and arbitration designed to settle disputes and to prevent strikes is in general use in the coal mining industry throughout the country. Unfortunately this is not the case. I am not prepared to say exactly how these troubles are treated in other states, and shall, therefore, confine myself to the coal mining industry of Illinois.

JOINT MEETING OF MINERS AND OPERATORS.

The plan pursued in Illinois, it is fair to state, has been made possible by reason of the existence of what is known as the interstate-joint-movement. The movement was inaugurated in January, 1898, following the sad and memorable strike of 1897 by the coal miners and coal operators of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, whereby the two interests adopted a system of joint agreements under which the mining scale the scale of wages and the mining conditions are agreed upon for what is known as the basing point in each of the states named, and these, while always agreed upon during the joint-convention in January and February of each year, do not become effective until April 1st following.

After the interstate convention the coal operators and the coal miners of these respective states are accustomed to meet in joint state convention and enter into another agreement determining mining rates based on basic rates

theretofore agreed upon in the interstate convention, and to agree upon such wages and mining conditions not common alike to all the four states but peculiar to and necessary for each state.

In Illinois, where the mining conditions vary more than in other coal-producing states, and where the state is divided into nine scale districts, and some of these into sub-districts, and where it is sometimes necessary for individual mine owners or mining companies to act independently of all other mines because of exceptional or unusual conditions, the coal operators and coal miners, after the adjournment of the joint state convention, hold what are known as sub-district, or district, conventions, or local conferences, and agree upon wages and mining conditions suited to the peculiar needs of these respective districts or mines.

To establish a better understanding of the objects of these numerous conventions it may be well to observe that, primarily, the interstate-joint-movement is founded upon the idea of uniformity based upon equitable trade or competitive conditions.

After the several conventions or conferences in which the coal miners and coal operators have had their hand-to-hand fights and their heart-to-heart talks, it is fair to assume that both miners and operators should have reached a pretty clear understanding, not so much as to what each side believed itself entitled, but as to what it was possible for each side to get, and what must satisfy them during the contract year; and yet time, money, and men are employed to prevent strikes and lockouts and to settle differences and disputes.

After an agreement has once been reached in this manner, it still remains to be seen, despite all the safeguards and precautions provided, how well all of its

conditions have been carried out, both by the employer and the employee, when the record is complete and a balance struck at the close of the contract year.

PLAN OF ENFORCING JOINT AGREEMENTS.

The officials of the Mine Workers' Union of Illinois, as the representatives of the miners, see to it that the miners' rights under the terms of the several joint agreements are fully protected, while the commissioner of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, on the other hand, representing the employer class, contends for compliance with these same joint agreements, in behalf of the operators. The representatives of these two organizations are expected to force jointly upon their members faithful compliance with these agreements; to take up and consider all differences and disputes arising during the contract year; and perform all such useful offices as seem necessary for preserving harmony in the coal-producing industry of the state.

Surprise is often expressed that, despite so many safeguards and precautions—despite so fair a scheme of mutual protection—differences, disputes and conflicts nevertheless occur daily, somewhere, in the state. There is, perhaps, something in or about the atmosphere of a mine that breeds conflict—there may be something in the nature of the work of miners calculated unduly to arouse in their breasts the rebellious spirit implanted in our common humanity. But, be this as it may, the mining camp has been a veritable battle ground, here and elsewhere, from time out of mind. Here is presented a fruitful field for the work of a speculative philosopher; but this paper is presumed to treat only of actualities, of stubborn, difficult, irresistible facts, and I shall not venture into the realm of speculation.

Why, then, is there so much trouble in enforcing an agreement so carefully prepared and seemingly so equitable in all its provisions?

PECULIAR COMPLICATIONS IN ILLINOIS.

Speaking of the coal industry of Illinois, it may be safely suggested that the great difficulty of enforcing strict compliance with these carefully prepared agreements is due to the fact that the mining conditions of the state vary more than anywhere else in the country; that there are over 800 coal mines in the state, of which about 600 represent only five per cent. of the shipping mines; that of the 40,000 miners employed fully 40 per cent. are ignorant of our language; that these agreements are made with an organization of laborers as yet not strong enough always rigidly to enforce them; and that employers of labor until recently each fought the fight in his own way, regardless of consequences entailed upon the coal industry as a whole. It is, then, not so strange, after all, that operators still concede demands of the miners which prove dangerous and mischievous precedents, and that it is, therefore, necessary each year that our joint contracts be drawn with increasing care and precision. Otherwise the miners, with the union behind them, and knowing, as they do, a weak employer's anxiety to keep his mines going at almost any sacrifice, would be uncontrollable. Even so, unjustified demands are made, despite pledges and promises, and, therefore, in the hope of preventing, if possible, any unwarranted demands being made during the contract year, a concluding clause has been inserted in the last two state agreements, which provides that "there shall be no demands made locally that are not specifically set forth in this agreement, except as agreed to in

joint sub-district meetings held prior to April 1st." In spite of this wise provision demands have been made locally, and much too often foolishly conceded; but considering the vastness and variety of the coal industry, these have been, comparatively speaking, very few in number, and in themselves trifling in importance, but a concession made, however trifling, is a dangerous precedent, for which the discipline of the miner and the interests of the owner always pay dearly sooner or later.

THE ILLINOIS PLAN OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION.

I am expected to describe the system of conciliation and arbitration in use in the coal mining industry of Illinois. There is not really much system about it. It is, after all, nothing more than a simple, effective, humane, common-sense arrangement of getting together on common ground in the hope of reaching a fair understanding. It is nothing more nor less than a sort of balance-wheel of a great industry—albeit a device intended to keep the men at work long enough to enable them and their employers to think calmly and dispassionately over questions in dispute, certain that if this be done a fair adjustment of all differences will surely be made. In fact our joint agreements provide that where differences or disputes have arisen "the miners and mine laborers and parties involved must continue at work pending an investigation and adjustment." At a period not very remote it was the universal custom to stop a mine whenever any dispute arose or when a demand was made, and idle it remained until the operator yielded or the miners were exhausted. This clause of the joint agreement is still violated far too often; but even so, it is a tremendous advance move-

ment which has resulted in great saving of time and money to master and men alike. In the hope of still further abating this annoying and costly practice, the miners' organization, at its annual convention of 1901, incorporated a clause in its constitution imposing a fine of "ten dollars upon each miner who from any cause threw the mine idle." Where this penalty is rigidly enforced it has had a salutary effect, but for reasons which must be apparent the penalty has not always been imposed.

In another year it is to be hoped that the penalty will not only be more rigidly enforced, but the United Mine Workers will go even further, and for flagrant violation of the agreement make the punishment, if necessary, expulsion from the union. This may seem to be undue severity, but if the penalty be inflicted only a few times we shall see vastly fewer flagrant violations of the agreement. The miners' organization, like a chain cable, cannot be stronger than its weakest link, and if it be weak at any point it is just where it should be strongest, and that is in its ability to enforce compliance with the contracts entered into between the two organizations. The power of the organization is, as I have said on another occasion, not great enough save where its power is unhappily used for mischief. A strong advocate of organizations, both of the labor and the capital classes, this frank criticism of existing conditions seems necessary. Lest I be accused of neglecting to suggest a penalty to be imposed upon employers shutting down their mines contrary to agreement, or otherwise flagrantly violating it, I beg to say that the Illinois Coal Operators' Association in its constitution makes ample provision for the punishment of its members thus guilty of bad faith. But even were it silent

on the subject, or if the operators failed to enforce any prescribed penalties, the miners have it in their power to discipline them, which they always do, and sometimes unlawfully, because they too often convict and punish them before trial.

VALUE OF FRIENDLY COUNCIL.

While I shall try plainly to describe the plan of conciliation and arbitration pursued in Illinois, still it seems that what you most desire to know is not so much how differences and disputes are settled, but what it is that occasions these differences and disputes, and how to prevent them ; for it is easy enough for fair men of average intelligence to determine upon a plan by which their difficulties may be settled, if only they can be brought to agree upon the real causes leading up to these difficulties. This is our objective point in Illinois.

With scarcely an exception, every strike that has taken place in our time, even where there has been bloodshed and destruction of property, has finally been settled in friendly council. Our plan is to prevent these senseless and costly strikes, and the many differences and disputes arising between master and men which seem to place them in the attitude of enemies to each other, are settled in the same manner in which the most destructive strikes are finally settled by meeting in friendly council where we try self control long enough to enable us to say : "Come, let us reason together." This is, practically, all there is of the plan pursued in the coal mining industry of Illinois, and of this plan to prevent strikes and to promote harmony and good feeling it can be said, at least, that it is the fairest thus far offered. Under it every inducement for doing right and of avoid-

ing conflict is afforded, and its application proves that such a plan could have been inspired only by high and honorable motives. This honest tribute is due the coal operators of Illinois, who inaugurated the plan in their state, and to the officials of the mine workers who have cordially supported it. And yet the plan is not perfect. It is only a beginning, but it is a good and hopeful beginning, as I shall endeavor to show. That it will be amplified and improved I confidently believe; and the sooner all the coal-producing states organize for the purpose of dealing with labor questions, the sooner this amplification and improvement will occur. What we need in the meantime is patience with our present ills and a steady purpose to keep the faith in holding to agreements which we are ever trying to make plainer in their language and fairer in their provisions. In truth, growing experience has made it possible to draw these agreements so that they are becoming ever more and more exact each year, the aim being to make the language and terms used so plain that the chances of misunderstanding any of the terms of the compact are steadily reduced. Disputes arising during the year, which have not been covered by the provisions of the current contract, have been taken up at the next annual convention and clauses inserted in the new agreement designed to cover them, so that, seemingly, nothing is left in doubt.

CARE OBSERVED IN DRAFTING ANNUAL CONTRACTS.

To illustrate the care with which every part of the agreement is drawn, I will quote section 13 of the current state agreement; and I have taken this section as an illustration because the points it seeks to cover are the ones which have given operators and miners the

greatest amount of trouble and have been the occasion of oft-repeated strikes and lockouts. This section reads as follows :

✓ (a) The duties of the pit committee shall be confined to the adjustment of disputes between the pit boss and any of the members of the United Mine Workers of America working in and around the mine, for whom a scale is made, arising out of this agreement or any sub-district agreement made in connection herewith, where the pit boss and said miner or mine laborer have failed to agree.

3 (b) In case of any local trouble arising at any shaft through such failure to agree between the pit boss and any miner or mine laborer, the pit committee and the miners' local president and the pit boss are empowered to adjust it ; and in the case of their disagreement it shall be referred to the superintendent of the company and the president of the miners' local executive board, where such exists, and should they fail to adjust it—and in all other cases—it shall be referred to the 4 superintendent of the company and the miners' president of the sub-district ; and should they fail to adjust it, it shall be referred in writing to the officials of the company concerned and the state officials of 5 the U. M. W. of A. for adjustment ; and in all such cases the miners and mine laborers and parties involved must continue at work pending an investigation and adjustment until a final decision is reached in the manner above set forth.

(c) If any day men refuse to continue at work because of a grievance which has or has not been taken up for adjustment in the manner provided herein, and such action shall seem likely to impede the operation of the mine, the pit committee shall immediately furnish a man or men to take such vacant place or places at the scale rate, in order that the mine may continue at work ; and it shall be the duty of any member or members of the United Mine Workers who may be called upon by the pit boss or pit committee to immediately take the place or places assigned to him or them in pursuance hereof.

(d) The pit committee in the discharge of its duties shall under no circumstances go around the mine for any cause whatever, unless called upon by the pit boss or by a miner or company man who may have a grievance that he cannot settle with the boss ; and as its duties are confined to the adjustment of any such grievances, it is understood that its members shall not draw any compensation except while actively engaged in the discharge of said duties. The foregoing shall not be construed to prohibit the pit committee from looking after the matter of membership dues and initiations in any proper manner.

(e) Members of the pit committee employed as day men shall not leave their places of duty during working hours, except by permission of the operator, or in cases involving the stoppage of the mine.

(f) The operator or his superintendent or mine manager shall be respected in the management of the mine and the direction of the

working force. The right to hire must include, also, the right to discharge; and it is not the purpose of this agreement to abridge the rights of the employer in either of these respects. If, however, any employe shall be suspended or discharged by the company and it is claimed that an injustice has been done him, an investigation to be conducted by the parties and in the manner set forth in the paragraphs (a) and (b) of this section shall be taken up at once, and if it is determined that an injustice has been done, the operator agrees to reinstate said employe and pay him full compensation for the time he has been suspended and out of employment; provided, if no decision shall be rendered within five days the case shall be considered closed in so far as compensation is concerned.

APPLYING BUSINESS METHODS TO BUSINESS MATTERS.

Thus it will be seen that the effort of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association and of the United Mine Workers of Illinois is not so much directed to establishing a well-defined and elaborate plan of arbitration or conciliation as it is to prevent all manner of differences and disputes and so obviate the necessity for conciliation or arbitration itself. The idea, after all, is that these agreements are nothing more nor less than business contracts, such as business men generally enter into and perform every day of the year—contracts which must either be respected or repudiated. It is not necessary in other departments of business to establish special tribunals designed to adjust differences that grow out of contracts or agreements between business men, and they should not be necessary in a large percentage of disputes growing out of these agreements between employer and employee. That is what the movement in Illinois is aiming at—the application of business methods to business matters. If respected, the business idea is carried out; if repudiated, it is war. The issue is clearly defined in clause (b) of the section I have read, which plainly binds the men to remain at work pending an investigation and adjustment of any and all differences and disputes arising between

the employer and his employees. The miners' officials, under this clause, must keep the men at work. If the men strike, the officials must put them back to work, or admit that they are powerless to do so, or plainly declare their intention to repudiate the contract; and in either of these contingencies the joint trade agreement idea is doomed.

WHERE MUCH FAULT LIES.

During the current year the largest percentage of suspensions or strikes resulted from a violation of clause (c) of section 13, and the class of labor most offending under this provision was primarily the drivers, who refused to work at the scale of wages agreed upon, and then by a refusal of the miners to take their places in order that a suspension of work might be avoided. These drivers are an interesting class, in many respects, and not wholly unlike the mules they drive. They are, as a rule, small men, fleet of foot, hardy, stubborn, and great "kickers." In mines where electric haulage has not yet been introduced they are indispensable. Next to the driver question, most trouble has been occasioned by the demand made for the reinstatement of employees who had been discharged. This subject is covered by clause (f) of section 13. If this clause could be rigidly enforced the standing of union labor and the discipline of mines in which it is employed would be established in a way to help enormously union labor and those employing it. But unfortunately the miners' officials are often forced to appear as condoning offenses which they know to be indefensible. These officials often live under the lash of jealous and suspicious subordinates or constituents. If the tenure of office of miners' officials could be lengthened and made more certain, and if instead of the beggarly

salaries they receive they were paid salaries commensurate with the value of services performed, if conservative, intelligent, fair-minded laborers belonging to the miners' organization would attend the meetings of their local unions and drive from power the radicals and mischief-makers so often in control, organized labor would advance by leaps and bounds, and with the approval and consent of the great army of employers who now regard them with aversion and fear.

MODUS OPERANDI.

As for the plan pursued in settling all questions referred to the Illinois Commission, it is very simple. When the disputes or differences arise the representatives of the United Mine Workers meet us by agreement and with them the miners and operators who are directly interested. Together these representatives of the two interests, without observing any prescribed form, meet and proceed to hear testimony, with a view of eliciting all the facts bearing upon the questions involved. There is seldom any attempt made to gain any advantage by confusing witnesses, and every time it is attempted the difficulties of settlement are at once increased. Our aim is to encourage witnesses to tell the truth, in order that disputes, if settled at all, may be settled upon their merits solely. The main idea of these investigations is to bring out clearly the exact facts, and when this is done we have found that nearly all ordinary troubles adjust themselves before we have been a great while in session. The great advantage of such meetings is that it affords employer and employee an opportunity to meet upon common ground, and that long-standing grievances for which there had been little or no foundation can be brushed aside, and that the representatives of miners and

operators alike can avail themselves of an excellent opportunity to explain the meaning of the joint agreements ; the purposes they are intended to serve and the importance of complying with the spirit as well as the letter of such agreements.

We have found it all-important whenever disputes or differences arise to take them up promptly. In fact, we are endeavoring to get the local officials of the Miners' Union and the mine manager to settle differences and disputes among themselves, where it is at all possible, because it has been found that all differences and disputes are most readily settled as near their source as possible, and as soon as possible after they arise. Failing in this, the miners are urged to notify their district or state officials without delay, and the operators are also expected promptly to notify their commissioner, for the longer the most trifling differences are allowed to remain unadjusted the more serious they become and the more difficult of settlement ; but at the same time both operators and miners are urged, even when the amount of money involved is trifling, to settle only in accordance with every provision and of all the terms of our joint agreements.

TACT WILL PREVENT TROUBLE.

It is safe to say that there is really no valid cause for ninety-five per cent. of these differences and disputes being brought to the attention of the miners' officials and the operators' commission, and very often by the time these differences and disputes reach us, we find it necessary to deal with some offense growing out of contentions and bickerings over the most trifling matter. If, by some magic touch, we could burn into the brain of the mine manager, "A soft answer turneth away

wrath," and into the brain of the miner, "A polite request will obtain ten-fold more than a rude demand," we would soon be prepared to dispense with much of the tedious work now performed by those entrusted with the difficult task of preserving peace where it is threatened, or restore it where it has been broken. The work before us is, therefore, largely educational—a vast work to be performed by and at the expense of comparatively few men in the coal-producing industry of a single state. It would be idle to endorse the claim that our conditions in Illinois are ideal, but that there is a marked improvement and a hopeful outlook no careful observer can deny.

Of the scores and hundreds of cases that have been brought before the officials of the United Mine Workers of Illinois, and the commissioner of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, all with two or three exceptions, have been settled without appeal. It should be borne in mind that every time a dispute is settled, if nothing more has been done, friction at least is relieved, but the settlement of very many disputes means the prevention of strikes.

Strikes, even when limited to a single mine and continuing for a short period of time, entail heavy loss on employer and employee. Three hundred dollars loss per day to the average coal mining company and its men is a very low estimate. It is impossible accurately to determine the aggregate saving as the result of the Illinois Coal Operators' experiment, but one-quarter million dollars would be a low estimate of what has been saved in the past year to miners and mine owners, and this experiment, conducted at a trifling cost, has not only brought mine owners and miners to a better understanding of each other, but it has brought the mine

owners themselves together in a closer union and to a more just appreciation of each others' rights and to a recognition of the importance of organization among the employer class.

The cases that were appealed, to which reference has been made, are noteworthy and deserve special consideration. A brief statement will serve to show not only how they are settled, but it will show how, oftentimes, costly and harmful conflicts are averted.

THE DANVILLE DISTRICT CASE.

I shall first cite an appeal from the Danville district in Illinois involving an interpretation of a section in the state agreement, known as section 16. Briefly, the miners and operators in the Danville district had met for the purpose of making their annual sub-district agreement for the scale year beginning April 1, 1901, but a controversy arose over the meaning of section 16 of the state agreement, which reads as follows :

(a) The scale of prices herein provided shall include, except in extraordinary conditions, the work required to load coal and properly timber the working places in the mine, and the operator shall be required to furnish the necessary props and timber in rooms or working face. And in long wall mines it shall include the proper mining of the coal and the brushing and care of the working places and roadway according to the present method and rules relating thereto, which shall continue unchanged.

(b) If any miner shall fail to properly timber and care for his working place, and such failure shall entail falls of slate, rock and the like, or if by reckless or improper shooting of the coal in room and pillar mines, the mine props or other timbers shall be disturbed or unnecessary falls result, the miner whose fault has occasioned such damage shall repair the same without compensation ; and if such miner fails to repair such damage he shall be discharged. In cases where the mine manager directs the placing of cross-bars to permanently secure the roadway, then, and in such cases only, the miner shall be paid at current price for each cross-bar when properly set.

These provisions do not contemplate any change from

the ordinary method of timbering by the miner for his own safety. The dispute arose over what constituted "ordinary" and what "extraordinary" conditions; or, in other words, what "dead" work should be performed by the miner without further compensation than pay for the coal sent out, and when the company should assume this extra work either by allowing the miner compensation therefor or having the work done by company men.

On April 11 the miners and operators of the Danville sub-district held a joint meeting, and, failing to agree upon an interpretation of the clause, the following action was taken :

"That the question now in dispute in the Danville district, namely, the interpretation and application of the sixteenth section of the Springfield agreement and the method of shearing the entry coal, be referred to Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Justi for settlement, and their decision shall be binding. Work at the mines shall resume and continue pending the settlement under the agreement of 1901 and now in force. In case the decision is against the operators, the miners shall be paid for the work done under protest. The parties herein named are to take up the matter and dispose of it at once. The rock down in the places at the resumption of work is to be cleaned up by the operators."

In accordance with this resolution, Mr. Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers of America, and the commissioner of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association went to the Danville district and inspected four of the ten mines involved in the controversy. Two days were devoted to examining the conditions in controversy at the mines, one day to taking testimony, and two days to a consideration of the evidence. The interpretation of the section of the agreement in dispute was considered favorable to the operators, although it was in fact simply a reaffirmation of the state agreement. The miners in the Danville district, while they were disappointed, and while they murmured their dissatisfaction, remained at

work during the investigation and have remained ever since. Thus 4,000 miners were induced to remain at work pending the investigation. Many times \$4,000 was saved to both miners and operators; and a great principle of right was established and maintained. All this was done by the prompt application of simple, wise and humane measures,—measures that it was possible thus promptly to apply because the necessary machinery had been provided by means of organization.

ATTEMPT TO FORCE HOISTING ENGINEERS INTO THE
U. M. W. ORGANIZATION.

Another case serving to illustrate the manner in which these joint investigations are conducted, as well as their importance to all interests involved, was the strike of the miners at the Glendale Coal and Mining Company's mines in the Belleville district, near St. Louis, Mo. On July 23, a telegram to the commissioner announced that both of the mines of the Glendale Coal and Mining Company had been shut down by the miners because the company refused to reinstate a hoisting engineer who had been discharged at one of the mines for cause. This hoisting engineer belonged to the United Mine Workers of America, and though not discharged because of this fact, he should have been discharged for it, if for no other, for the Illinois Coal Operators' Association had agreed to employ only members of the National Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers, with whom it had a contract—all of which was known to the said engineer and to the officials of the United Mine Workers of Illinois. The United Mine Workers of Illinois, it is proper to state in this connection, had sought to force all laborers in and about the coal mines of the state into their organization, whether

they belonged to other labor organizations or not. From the idea of "trades-unionism," the larger labor organizations of the United States have long since departed, the idea now being to absorb all the smaller unions, whether they desire to be absorbed or not, and to organize them into great industrial families; and this in the very face of the fact that these smaller unions derive their charters from the American Federation of Labor, as does also the organization of United Mine Workers.

Briefly, the Illinois Coal Operators' Association had entered into an agreement with the National Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers in October, 1899, and it has been working under the agreement, or a renewal of that agreement, ever since. At the interstate and the state conventions of 1901, the United Mine Workers sought to include in the scale of wages which it was seeking to establish with the coal operators a scale of wages for coal hoisting engineers. This the coal operators not only refused to do, but they succeeded in inducing the United Mine Workers to consent to the insertion of a clause in the state agreement definitely excluding from the jurisdiction of the United Mine Workers the coal hoisting engineers, confident that if such a clause were not included in the agreement serious difficulties would occur at short intervals throughout the contract year. In spite of this agreement, and in violation of it, so clearly and so explicitly drawn, the Mine Workers' Union took into its organization certain coal hoisting engineers; or at any rate it allowed certain coal hoisting engineers to remain. When in due course a coal hoisting engineer was discharged who did not belong to the National Brotherhood of Coal Hoisting Engineers, with whom the Coal Operators of Illinois had a contract, the

miners not only threw idle the mine where this engineer had been employed, but they threw idle a second mine operated by the same company—and all this was done not only with the consent of the officials of the local and district organization, but with the approval of the officials of the state organization also. Unable to induce the state officials to order the miners back to work, the Illinois Coal Operators' Association, through its commissioner, filed its protest with the national organization of the United Mine Workers, insisting that the miners be ordered to return to work, and that the claim of jurisdiction by the miners over the engineers be discontinued. A decision was rendered, but it was unsatisfactory to coal operators and coal miners alike. Still, the decision provided that the men should return to work and it was heeded. But as the important question of jurisdiction was ignored in the decision, both organizations consented to refer the question for adjustment to Mr. John Mitchell, national president of the United Mine Workers of America, and to the commissioner of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association. The executive boards of the United Mine Workers of Illinois and of the Illinois Coal Operators' Association met in joint session, and after a calm discussion of the points in dispute, the case was taken under advisement by President Mitchell and the commissioner, who, after due deliberation, agreed that under the contract entered into by the coal operators and the coal miners of the State of Illinois the United Mine Workers of Illinois had no jurisdiction over the hoisting engineers. Thus, a question that had been the occasion of constant trouble and friction and which threatened even greater and more serious complications was happily settled.

Needless as this whole contest seems to have been,

still, under the old régime, this strike would have continued indefinitely or until the employer had submitted to gross injustice, until he had surrendered a right guaranteed to him under an agreement which all parties to it had pledged themselves to keep inviolate. Had it not been so settled, the probabilities are that every other mine in the state would have been forced to undergo the same costly experience.

SUSPENSION OF MINERS' LOCAL AT ATHENS,

Another and most important case, and one which was brought to the attention of the joint convention of coal miners and coal operators while in session at Springfield, last March, was that in which the miners and operators of the Athens Coal Mining Company, at Athens, Ill., were involved. Here the miners not only violated the state agreement, but they defied their own state organization. They not only refused to work under the mine manager employed by the Athens Mining Company, but they drove him from his post and out of the city in which he lived. The case was investigated by a joint committee of coal miners and coal operators, and a unanimous report of this committee declaring the men guilty was submitted to the joint convention, then in session, which report the joint convention unanimously approved. Thereupon, the executive board of the United Mine Workers of Illinois suspended the "local" at Athens for an indefinite period. The miners were obliged to remain idle because membership cards were refused to them, and without these membership cards they were denied employment at all mines employing union labor. Thus mine and miners were both idle, and they remained idle for eight weeks, at the expiration of which time the offending miners, admitting

the gravity of their offense and the justice of the punishment imposed, sought to be reinstated in their organization. This the United Mine Workers refused to do without first obtaining the consent of the operators. This consent was finally given, the "local" was thereupon reinstated. The miners were re-employed and work was resumed. But think of the cost! Here was a case where the operator was entirely innocent and yet, while the chief burden of loss fell upon him, he was without recourse upon the offenders, or upon the organization to which they belonged.

In all fairness the loss should have been borne by the United Mine Workers. That the Athens Mining Company had no recourse at law against the United Mine Workers does not alter the case. The very fact itself that these two organizations are only voluntary organizations, having no standing before the law, should serve to make such an agreement the more sacred, because they are bound to each other by only moral obligations; and unless labor organizations proceed upon this idea, trade agreements between them and employers cannot be continued. The time will come, I believe, when the United Mine Workers' organization, like the International Longshoremen's Association,¹ will carry out its agreements to the letter, failing in which they will reimburse the employer for resulting damages. Thus it would fully establish its claim to recognition as a business organization doing business according to accepted business rules

¹ At a meeting of the National Civic Federation held at the Chamber of Commerce, New York city, last May, Mr. Daniel J. Keefe, president of the International Longshoremen's Association, in describing the business methods of that labor organization, said that when members of his association refused to carry out its agreements they were expelled, and their places, if necessary, were filled with non-union men, and any loss resulting from failure on its part to carry out its contracts was borne by the International Longshoremen's Association.

and practices, and entitled to respect, since it would then possess those established elements which merit success, namely, a proper regard for its promises and obligations.

The course pursued by the miners' organization in the Athens case was, I am free to say, well intended ; and it was, perhaps, all it could do under the then existing circumstances. No doubt great good resulted, but unfortunately the punishment fell too heavily upon the innocent, while the mischief-makers—the men responsible for all the trouble, and who rather enjoyed the glory of having wrought so much mischief—are perhaps as well cared for as ever in the mines to-day, and stand as well in their organization as the least guilty of their fellows. These men the United Mine Workers should have punished by summary expulsion from their organization, and the other men who followed their leadership should have been made to pay the loss entailed.

Certainly relief from such evils as are herein described is imperatively demanded, and it must be afforded if joint agreements between employer and men are to be continued ; but when will this relief be afforded, and how shall that relief be obtained ?

STANDING OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS BEFORE THE LAW.

I am aware that the incorporation of labor organizations, in order to give them a standing before the law, is suggested by many able men as a cure-all for strikes and as the only prevention of the petty tyranny to which employers of labor are so often subjected, as well as a means of enforcing agreements entered into between organizations or companies of employers and labor organizations. In fact, both the representatives of capital and of labor seem to believe that the remedy for abuses practiced both by employers and employees is to be

found in legislation. To me this seems impossible, and I might cite many reasons for this belief, if time permitted. Suffice it to say that if the employer should secure the legislation he desires, injury would surely overtake labor; and if, on the other hand, the employee should secure the legislation he desires, the difficulties of the employer would be enormously increased.

I am mindful of the fact that even so high an authority on all questions he essays to discuss as Mr. Carroll D. Wright advocates the incorporation of labor organizations and believes that thus both employers and employees would be protected.¹ The weak point, it seems to me, in this idea of the incorporation of labor organizations is that in law it is well nigh impossible to impose upon laborers any prescribed labor conditions. That is to say, you cannot make him perform labor in any certain, defined manner, and that is after all the sum and substance of the agreements entered into between labor and capital. If incorporated, the laborer or the organization to which he belongs could be sued for damages, but if so the case would have to be tried in a magistrate's court, or in the circuit court; and in these courts the complaint of employers now is that a laborer " has the better chance of success. Oftentimes such suits would be tried before juries with a too common bias

¹ In his address before the Merchants' Club, Chicago, November 9, 1901, Mr. Wright said: "The great advantages of securing charters would be that the unions would have a standing in court; they would have a better standing in public estimation, and they would be more likely to select the ablest men for leaders. As legal persons they could enforce their contracts against employers, while they would be responsible for breach of contract on their own part. They have been debarred heretofore from appearing in court by representatives, and have thus lost a great advantage which would have been of the utmost importance to them."

against capital. The truth is, that if there is any one thing that a business man does not like—if there is any one thing a business man will make many sacrifices to avoid, and that he does religiously avoid—it is a lawsuit. On the other hand, if there is anything that an undeserving or a radical laborer, or an unworthy or incompetent labor official enjoys—and notably where he has already made a loophole of escape—it is a lawsuit with the employer or the capital class. It is to be feared if the employer class once succeeds in introducing the lawsuit as a means of enforcing its agreements with labor organizations, the chief business of the employer will thereafter be in the courts; and nowhere else is this so true as in the coal industry.¹ The coal operator who goes to law with a labor organization or with a laborer, it will be found, will be engaged in the law business more than in the coal business. And here let me observe, that the large fund in the treasury of the United Mine Workers of Illinois would be a constant temptation to the local unions, composing the general organization of miners, to urge litigation. It is true the lot of the officials of labor organizations would thus be made harder, their pathway would be strewn with more thorns, but this would hardly compensate the employer who must follow in the same rough path.

VALUE OF PUBLIC OPINION.

Better than law courts or restrictive laws—ininitely better than police surveillance or military power for the solution of this problem—is the strong, exacting, en-

¹ "Discourage litigation. Persuade your neighbors to compromise whenever you can. Point out to them how the nominal winner is often a real loser—in fees, expenses, and waste of time"—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

lightened public opinion of a free people, founded upon healthy, honest public sentiment. Public opinion in America is certain to be sound, provided the people are well and correctly informed, and the way to make it sound is to ground it on the truth. Let the employers in every industry in the land organize into associations similar to the one I have sought to describe in this paper. Let them stand firm for their just rights, and no more, and treat with labor as it deserves and as it has a right to expect, and then public opinion will be not only unerring in its verdict but inflexible in enforcing its decrees. Thus organized, the employer class in America will, as a natural sequence, inaugurate and conduct a campaign of education in which the enlightened American laborer will gladly join, that cannot fail of establishing such just and correct standards of right in our business relations as to insure fair wages with proper working conditions to the laborer, and profit and safety to the employer, because if employer and employee are alike organized, each with adequate machinery for conducting its business, the public will no longer be misled by one-sided reports of tyranny on the one hand or oppression on the other.

If labor in recent years has too often practiced forms of tyranny and has committed acts of lawlessness, if it has forced conditions upon the employer that are oppressive, and has made contracts,¹ as often charged, simply to violate them, and if all these combined evils have become so great that they would now seem to call for the

¹ All the commercial world ought to be converted to the doctrine that a contract is a binding and not a voidable obligation. Every member of the industrial and commercial organizations of this country ought to understand and swear allegiance to the great principle that as a man agrees to do, so, in truth and honor, he must and shall do.—J. STERLING MORTON.

intervention of courts and the protection of the strong arm of government, let us not forget that in times past it was the arrogance and selfishness so often practiced by the rich and the well-to-do that in due course brought on the present conflict between labor and capital. Now exalted public spirit and wise unselfishness to be practiced by the same class must restore peaceful relations and just conditions at the same time that labor takes heed lest it add crime to folly by seeking revenge for wrongs, both real and fancied, instead of following such a policy of repression, conciliation and wise business sagacity as the higher dictates of their better natures would suggest and as all law-abiding and justice-loving fellow-citizens will approve.

DISCUSSION.

CARROLL D. WRIGHT: I have listened to Mr. Justi's paper with intense satisfaction, and with gratitude also. For many years I have been a very thorough believer in the efficacy of joint meetings of employers and employees and of all efforts to avoid labor conflicts through the instrumentality of voluntary joint committees. The plan which has been so thoroughly and admirably outlined by Mr. Justi, and which has been put in operation in the coal industry in the State of Illinois, must commend itself to all fair-minded men. I cannot offer any criticisms of the paper but wish to commend it fully and cordially. When it is known that during the past twenty years the cost of strikes and lock-outs, including the wage loss of employees the assistance to employees by labor organizations, and the loss of employers, amounts to the enormous sum of \$468,968,581, and that the total number of strikes during that period was 22,793, involving 117,509 establishments and throwing out of employment 6,105,694 employees, it would seem that no effort, consistent with high moral standards, to prevent these great losses and hardships should be neglected.

For many years a large proportion of the great industries of Great Britain have adopted plans similar to those presented by Mr. Justi, and with the most gratifying results. In this country the founders, the stove manufacturers, the mason building trades of Boston, the boot and shoe trade, and some others have worked under similar plans, and with no strikes or lockouts. Following these great experiences, the Publishers' Association and the Typographical Union have made contracts looking to the avoidance of all conflicts. The managers of

the coal mining industry in Illinois are to be congratulated upon their wisdom in adopting the methods Mr. Justi has explained. I have no doubt that other great associations of manufacturers and wage-earners will follow these experiences, and I am sure that as soon as employers' associations understand the real benefits of dealing with organized labor they will not hesitate to adopt similar plans.

Of the 22,793 strikes occurring during the last twenty years, 14,457 were ordered by organizations, and 52.86 per cent. of the strikes so ordered were successful; but it is not fair to say that a successful strike, so far as its particular conclusions are concerned, was successful, or that an unsuccessful strike, so far as its particular conclusions are concerned, was unsuccessful. There is something in the psychology of strikes which leads us far beyond the mere statement of cost as related to losses, either of employers or employees. The ethical effects of friendly settlement far transcend any financial results which can be considered, either from the favorable or the unfavorable point of view. The harmonious relations of laborers and capitalists are worth more than the success or the estimated losses of any or all strikes.

Dr. William Jacks, president of the West of Scotland Iron and Steel Institute, in his recent address before that body, says that under wise and prudent and far-seeing leaders, unions are good for the masters as well as the man, and he cites one chief benefit—the advantage of having a recognized head and executive with which to deal where such a large body of men is concerned. Then, he says, boards of arbitration can be established. And Mr. Pierpont Morgan, in one of the conferences relating to the recent steel strike, did not hesitate to say that he much preferred dealing with

an organized body of men than with a lot of irresponsible individuals. This position is the correct one, and must be recognized if industry is to avoid labor conflicts. This is seen very clearly in the light of some of the remarks made by Mr. Justi. He says that every strike that has taken place in our time, even where there have been bloodshed and destruction of property, has finally been settled in friendly council, and that the plan of the Coal Operators' Association in its contracts with the man is to prevent these senseless and costly strikes and the many differences and disputes arising between masters and men, which tend to place them in the attitude of enemies to each other, and to settle them in the same manner in which the most destructive strikes are finally settled, namely, by meeting in friendly council. This is consummate wisdom. What a commentary it is upon the experience of the past twenty-five years to know that finally most strikes are settled by the very method which should be taken in the initiative to prevent them. Mr. Justi makes it clear that the main idea of such investigations as he recommends is to bring out the exact conditions, and he states that when this is done they have found in Illinois that nearly all ordinary troubles adjust themselves before the joint boards have been in session any great length of time. It is, he states, all important, whenever disputes or differences arise, to take them up promptly.

Mr. John Mitchell, the president of the United Mine Workers, has stated publicly—and I use his exact words—that “nearly all, I may say all the strikes that have occurred in recent years would have been avoided if both sides could have got together and talked the matter over.” Talking the matter over, however, involves organization. There is no use of talking it over with

individuals; the conference must be between the parties involved, and at the very outset when a grievance is presented. This is all important, and this association of economists will recognize more clearly than any other body of men the economic advantages of such action. The aggregate saving, as pointed out by Mr. Justi as the result of the Illinois coal operators' experiment, is such as to indicate no other sane course to pursue. He says that one quarter of a million dollars would be a low estimate of what has been saved in the past year to miners and mine owners, and that the experiments have been conducted at a trifling cost. The ethical result of the course adopted has been a better understanding of the two parties, for it has brought the mine owners themselves together in a closer union, to a more just appreciation of each other's rights, and to a recognition of the importance of organization among the employer class.

Organization among the employer class has not heretofore been with a view of settling difficulties, but more along the line of defense. The experience of the Founders' Association is in point. They organized for the purpose of defense and accumulated a large defense fund, but the association found that this was not practical, ethical, or economical. They, therefore, turned their organization to the light and undertook the settlement and adjustment of grievances in the initiative as worth more as a matter of defense than all the war methods which they could adopt.

Senator Hanna, who has had long experience in conducting great business enterprises, has made a declaration, not only of sympathy with labor as such, but of sympathetic recognition of their organizations, that will give great stimulus to this broad idea of joint dealing;

and his acceptance of the chairmanship of the executive committee of the National Civic Federation, whose specific purpose is not only the agitation of the benefits to be derived from the plan of labor conferences in general, but the organization of such conferences, is a step greater than any that has yet been taken to secure industrial peace. The objects of the committee are so high that they far transcend all arbitrary methods of adjustment, whether through the machinery of official boards of arbitration or courts of a compulsory nature.

There are one or two suggestions which I should like to add to those already made by Mr. Justi. One is that the constitutions of the associations of employers and employees should respectively incorporate an article comprehending the necessity of joint agreements. This is the practice of the Builders' Association and the labor organizations which are co-operating with that association. Each provides in its by-laws or constitution that all members of the association, by virtue of their membership, recognize and assent to the establishment of a joint committee of arbitration by and between the two bodies for the peaceful settlement of all matters of mutual concern to the two bodies and the membership thereof; and they provide, further, the specific machinery by which this agreement shall be carried out and specify the duty of the delegates which shall be elected respectively as members of the joint committee. This makes the whole matter of discussion and effort at adjustment a part of the organic law of the two bodies to the high contract.

The other suggestion is that each party should make provision for some disciplinary efforts when individual members of the respective associations disobey the constitution or by-laws in respect to joint agreements. This

is done in a way by the Illinois Coal Operators' Association and the labor organization with which it deals, but more can be done in this direction.

By these methods and their extension to various industries the time will come when a strike will bring either or both parties to it into public disrepute. I look for the time when the managers of a great industry or the leaders of a labor organization will feel ashamed to participate in an open labor war. This is the high moral plane which makes industrial peace. With a high moral plane secured, the economic results will surely follow.

While commending the paper in the strongest terms, I wish also to say that I am in thorough sympathy with Mr. Justi in his moderate strictures relative to my own position concerning the incorporation of labor unions. The weak point to which he refers—that in law it is well nigh impossible to impose upon laborers any prescribed labor conditions—I have long recognized; but there need not be any such imposition. There are not only great advantages in incorporation, but certain disadvantages. These disadvantages can all be removed by law relating to the incorporation of organized labor, limiting responsibilities under certain circumstances and conditions; but, on the whole, and recognizing the weak point mentioned, and recognizing also other points which Mr. Justi did not bring out, I still believe that the advantages of incorporation far outweigh the disadvantages.

The whole trend in England now is along the line of the doctrine laid down by the Law Lords recently that any body of persons, whether incorporated or not, a voluntary association or otherwise, that can work an injury should be held responsible in damages for the results of the injury. This looks like an inimical de-

cision, but I believe that the philosophic, economic, and moral results will be that employers of labor everywhere, recognizing the advantages of the doctrine, will insist upon the organization of laborers, and thus put the two great elements absolutely essential to prosperity on an equal basis and on a dignified footing before the law.

E. DANA DURAND : The experiment in Illinois, which Mr. Justi has so well described to us, seems to me extremely interesting, because it is illustrative of a practice which certainly is going to grow rapidly in this country ; which indeed has already gained a foothold in a good many industries other than coal mining ; and which, as Mr. Wright has just told us, has made greater progress in Great Britain than in this country. I think there is one very significant thing to be gathered from the description of the practice in Illinois, and that is, that there are really two distinct classes of questions with which employers and employees have to concern themselves. Questions of the first class are of a general nature ; they involve the terms of the labor contract. Questions of the second class are of a minor character ; they have to do with the enforcement of the labor contract, or with its interpretation as regards details. The experience in England as well as in the United States seems to show that the greatest success is usually obtained where different machinery is provided for the adjustment of these two different classes of questions. Such different machinery is, as Mr. Justi shows us, provided in the coal industry, both as regards the interstate agreement, and more particularly as regards the Illinois system. That is, the general questions relating to the general contract are decided by one body ; and the minor questions are decided by a different form of action and

a different body ; both bodies, to be sure, representing the same organizations of employers and employees.

The annual joint agreement or contract is adopted by a large convention of coal miners and operators. The large membership of the convention seems a significant thing. It enables all interests properly to be represented, and all classes of operators and miners to understand the significance of the terms which are reached. The conference acts by unanimous vote. It does not act by a majority vote. The decision is confined wholly to members of the trade, employers and employees themselves, and in no case, in the mining industry, is any one outside of the trade and unfamiliar with the conditions called in to decide such important questions, affecting the welfare of hundreds of employers and tens of thousands of employees.

This then is the system of collective bargaining, as the phrase has been used in this country and Great Britain—the discussion of questions directly between employers and employees or their representatives. The practice in several other trades is in general similar to that in the coal mines. It is not to be considered arbitration in any strict usage of that term. It does not involve a decision by a person outside the trade of questions with which he can not be familiar.

The other class of questions, being of a minor character, need not be brought before a large body. Moreover they cannot be settled at definite periods of time, as from year to year. They arise at irregular intervals, when one or the other workman or employer brings up some question of interpretation, or attempts to violate the agreement. For a settlement of these minor matters there needs to be machinery constantly on hand ; preferably a small-sized joint board

which may hear appeals. Of course the most of these minor differences can be settled by immediate conference between those directly interested, if only they are willing to confer ; but if they cannot come to an agreement then appeal to a body of some dignity and permanence, with some independence because not directly concerned in the dispute, is likely to result in peaceful adjustment without the need of rendering a formal decision. Mr. Justi has shown that in most cases disputes, after a little investigation and negotiation, are settled without authoritative decision. It seems to me that this latter practice may properly be called conciliation, or, if you please, even arbitration. Such a joint board may find it necessary to render an authoritative decision, as it occasionally does in Illinois, and in some rare instances it is possible, and perhaps desirable, that failing a decision otherwise, these minor matters should be appealed to some outside authority to be chosen jointly by the parties interested. This is done at times in this country, and quite frequently in Great Britain. But it certainly is undesirable to resort to outside arbitration as regards general questions of the labor contract, unless in the most extreme necessity ; and most employers and employees in this country believe that it is not wise to resort to arbitration by persons outside the trade at all as regards these greater questions.

PORTO RICAN FINANCE UNDER THE SPANISH AND AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS.

BY THOMAS S. ADAMS.

No fair-minded person who read the press despatches from Cuba or heard most of the speeches in Congress in the stirring days which immediately preceded the war with Spain, could have avoided a certain revulsion of feeling in favor of Spain and the Spaniard. Cuba and Porto Rico, we were told with angry vehemence, were ruled from Madrid, administered by a horde of hungry carpet-baggers, taxed and exploited, pillaged and looted for the benefit of the carpet-bagger and the glory of Spain.

But the abuse of Spain was too continual ; the damnation too utter. One was forced to conclude that national prejudice was passing current for knowledge ; and if it fell to his lot to make a brief study of the Spanish government of Porto Rico he approached his subject, almost inevitably, with a disposition to ascertain the good which it contained, and with the expectation of finding something far less selfish and barbarous than had been painted.

I have not hesitated to begin with a personal statement of this sort because it will be found not without relevancy in the rather invidious comparison which follows, and because the more fully I have been able to investigate Spanish government and administration, the more inevitably have I been forced to conclude that American criticism of this government and administration is on the whole well founded. So far as Porto Rico is concerned there is no evidence of unusual cruelty

or unnecessary physical harshness in the history of Spanish administration. On the other hand, the evidence is indisputable that financially and economically Porto Rico was systematically exploited. And for this evidence one is not forced to accept—nor have I in the present paper accepted—the opinion of the Porto Ricans or the evidence found in the utter corruption of public morals in Porto Rico to-day. The evidence is writ large on the statute books of Spain. Porto Rico was governed from Madrid. It was administered in the interests of Spain, and no effort was made to conceal the fact. The utter unconsciousness on the part of Spain that colonies could exist for any other purpose than the enrichment of the mother country is amazing.

SPANISH GOVERNMENT OF PORTO RICO.

We are concerned here with the government of Porto Rico only on its fiscal side, and there is space for only the briefest treatment of this side. We shall go quickest to the heart of the matter by the brief statement that up to the promulgation of the autonomous constitution of November 25, 1897, which was never fully introduced into Porto Rico, there was no semblance of a native legislature. Legislation emanated from Madrid, from the Cortes, in which Porto Rico was represented by sixteen deputies and three senators; but more usually from the colonial minister, Porto Rico being a crown colony. By this is meant, not merely that the Spanish government was the source of legislation, but that it voted the Porto Rican budget, passed her tax laws, increased or pared her appropriations, laid hands upon the minutiae of fiscal administration—for instance, the rates of taxation, the methods of assessment, the penalties for evasion, etc.,—and through

skillful election laws and the powers conferred upon its representative in Porto Rico, the governor general, controlled absolutely the modicum of representation which Porto Rico was allowed in the government.

And looking to the administration of the island, it is no criticism, but a mere exposition of the provincial law, to say that the administration was the governor general and the governor general the administration. In the later history of the island we catch fleeting glimpses of a board of authorities, a council of administration, and a provincial deputation. But the first two were explicitly and the latter was in reality "under the direct and immediate orders of the governor general." Not only was he commander in chief of the army and navy, head of the established church, commissioner of education, and executive head of the administration, with plenary power to suspend and appoint officials, issue administrative orders, remove and fine members of the provincial deputation and municipal councils, but in point of fact he exercised these powers, "naming every employee of the municipal governments," said a prominent Porto Rican to me, "from alcalde down to porters and janitors."

It should be said that Spain made some effort both to divorce the financial administration of the island from the general administration, and to introduce a certain element of home rule into the financial administration. Thus the receipt and disbursement of the insular funds, the initial drafting of the insular budget, the collection of customs and the financial administration in general, were under the control of an intendant, who originally—that is, by the royal decree of September 12, 1870—was directly responsible to the colonial ministry at Madrid. But as both the governor general and the in-

tendant were agents of the colonial office there was no particular reason why their powers should be independent and coördinate, and accordingly, as time passed, the latter came more and more under the control of the governor general. The annual budget, in late years, was presented not to the colonial minister direct, but to the council of administration which was presided over and controlled by the governor general. This council forwarded the budget, with such suggestions of change as they had to make, to the colonial minister. "Though the government may change the budget," continues the law (March 15, 1895), "in order to present it to the Cortes, and in order to provide for the services and general obligations of the state, it shall always attach thereto, as a report, the one drawn up by the council."

As a matter of fact, there were two budgets and two treasuries. The budget drawn up by the intendant contained all the taxes and the more important appropriations: the contributions of Porto Rico to the home government, for instance, the appropriations for the military and naval establishments, for the church and the judiciary. The expenditures for education, roads, charities—in short, for internal affairs—were first voted by the provincial deputation, which sent their budget to the governor general. He in turn revised it and then sent the original and his modifications to the colonial minister. Here it was again revised and certain taxes or parts of taxes assigned for the payment of expenditures allowed. In this form it was submitted to the Cortes. In the fiscal year 1897–98, the insular budget amounted to 3,536,342 pesos: the provincial budget to 1,217,700 pesos. Hereafter I shall treat the two budgets together.

The provincial deputation had existed, with intermissions, since 1870—the year in which Porto Rico was declared a Spanish province. Its members were elected by the qualified voters of Porto Rico, and it had in the abstract important administrative powers: the right of suggesting or voting in the first instance the appropriations for schools and roads, of disbursing its own funds, of revising the municipal budgets, etc. But its meaning and usefulness were vitiated by a farcical election law, by the revision of its budgets in Spain, by the superior powers of the governor general, who could annul any resolution and suspend or fine any member, and by that masterpiece of Spanish ingenuity, the provision that the office of provincial deputy should be honorary, compulsory and liable. This, being interpreted, means that a Porto Rican had to accept the office when tendered; that while he received no salary, he could be fined for absence or disrespect to authority; and that, if by his action in the deputation he injured the right of any citizen, he was liable for damages. “Should a resolution of the provincial deputation injure the rights of private individuals,” says article 50 of the provincial law of Dec. 31, 1896, “those having contributed by their votes to the adoption of the same shall be held liable for indemnity or restitution to the injured parties before the proper courts.”

Perhaps, after all, Spain's greatest obstacle was that, like the notorious Mrs. Ebbsmith, she had a past. She tried desperately in the end to rise above her traditions, and in the autonomous constitution of November 25, 1897, made a heroic effort to grant Porto Rico that measure of fiscal autonomy which both justice and expediency demanded. But repentance came too late, and before the autonomous government could be fully insti-

tuted Commodore Sampson was shelling San Juan, and the governor general was forced to declare martial law. Under the autonomous constitution Porto Rico was still compelled to pay her contribution to Spain for "the maintenance of sovereignty" (articles 34-36), and this contribution, which was fixed in advance by the Spanish Cortes, had to be accepted by the legislature of Porto Rico before the ordinary budget could be considered. Again, the evidence is plentiful that Spain had not abandoned the old habit of granting power in one paragraph of the law and withdrawing it by a specious generality in the next. Thus after having granted the municipalities and provincial assembly complete power "freely to raise the necessary revenue to cover expenditures," the whole scheme is put to naught by the modifying clause—"with no other limitations than to make the means adopted compatible with the general system of taxation which shall obtain in the island." Whether Porto Rico was ready for fiscal autonomy or not is a doubtful question over which Spain may rightfully have hesitated. But the manner and time in which the concession was made, the specious promises and doubtful ambiguities with which the law is strewn, yield plentiful evidence of a bad conscience. Spain had wronged her colonies, and the Sagasta constitution is an acknowledgement of the fact.

EXPENDITURES UNDER THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.

An examination of the Porto Rican budget shows that it was not without reason that the Spanish colonial ministry revised budgets so carefully, prepared the laws in detail and prescribed minutely the procedure of assessment and collection. Spain was careful to retain this right of budgetary revision because 46 per cent. of the

aggregate budget of the general government and provincial deputation was in support of the army, which was maintained almost solely for the benefit of the Spanish government. To be specific, the aggregate expenditures in the fiscal year 1897-98 amounted to 10,042 pesos. Of this amount, 2,167,157 per cent., were devoted to the support of the army, the church, the colonial ministry at Madrid, and naval establishments in Porto Rico. The expenditures were of no benefit, but rather a menace to the island itself.

It would be interesting, if time permitted, to examine the expenditures in detail. The total for the state church in its purely religious, social and educational services of the colony was 1,193,610 pesos, wisely provided for. The military expenditures amounted to 1,252,377 pesos; including 11,413 pesos for disciplinary brigades of Cuba." The naval expenditures amounted to 668 pesos. These two expenditures amounted to more than 31 per cent. of the aggregate expenditures of the island; more than twice as much as was spent upon public works and roads, and more than twice as much as was spent upon public education. The compulsory contribution levied upon the island for the expenses of sovereignty amounted to 1,193,610 pesos. This consisted of Porto Rico's share of the expenses of the colonial government—10 per cent.—and pensions for retired employees.

The compulsory contribution for the expenses of sovereignty is levied in the colonial administration. Thus, according to Professor Fournier, the French colonial fiscal system

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8,500,000 francs from her colonies in 1898. But over against this France spent, in maintaining military establishments and in positive contributions toward the payment of the local expenses of her colonies, 116,000,000 francs; thirteen times as much as she collected. On her colonies—on Porto Rico at least—Spain spent nothing.

The remaining expenditures of the insular government and provincial deputations amounted to 2,586,884 pesos, or 54 per cent. of the aggregate expenditures. This amount comprehended the expenses of the judiciary, the treasury department, the post-office and telegraph, for roads, education, public health: in short, the ordinary expenses in general. Such remarks as I have to make upon these expenditures will be introduced later in a comparison with the expenditures under the American régime. The interesting point is that only a little more than one-half of the taxes collected was spent for the normal expenses of the island itself.

REVENUES UNDER THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.

The revenue system, under Spanish control was characterized by a studious avoidance of debt, great complexity in the system of taxation, and by an excessive emphasis upon indirect taxes and upon customs taxes in particular. The estimated receipts in the fiscal year 1897-98 amounted to 5,157,200 pesos, or somewhat more than \$3,000,000. Of this amount, 11 per cent. came from non-tax sources, mining royalties, quotas levied on the municipalities, and the public lottery, \$87,000 from the lottery; 13 per cent. from direct taxes, the graduated poll tax, the system of license taxes and the taxes on land; 9 per cent. from stamp taxes on the transfer of property, passenger and

freight traffic, and commercial documents in general; and 67 per cent. from consumption taxes—the unimportant excise on petroleum, the taxes upon the embarkation and disembarkation of passengers and the loading and unloading of freight, the tax upon exports, and most important of all the customs duties.

The Spanish system of taxation is full of interesting features, that will have to be entirely neglected at this time: the virtues and defects of the lottery as a source of income; the system of *consumos*, by which the municipalities raised a large part of their revenues from *octrois* upon articles of meat, drink and fuel; the absence of the sumptuary excise tax; the multiplicity of stamp taxes, touching almost every written document from a will to a sight draft, highly regressive in general, but including a progressive inheritance tax. We shall have time for only a brief description of the two most important group of taxes, the customs duties and the direct taxes, which together yielded 80 per cent. of the total revenue.

The direct taxes consisted of a territorial or land tax; a system of license taxes called the industrial and commercial tax, and the passport tax—a graduated poll-tax ranging from twelve cents to twelve dollars. The latter, while a source of continual protest in Porto Rico, was fiscally unimportant and need not be considered here. Its estimated yield in 1897-98 was only 31,000 pesos or \$18,600.

The territorial tax, which in an agricultural country like Porto Rico should under ordinary circumstances constitute the very back-bone of the revenue system, yielded in 1897-98 only 410,000 pesos or about eight per cent. of the total receipts. The tax was historically a very old one in Porto Rico, having originated in a

quit rent which took the form of a percentage tax upon the net product of land as early as 1816. In recent years it has been divided into two classes, the *agricola* and the *urbana*, both of which were taxes upon the income from real estate. In the country the custom was to ascertain the product of the land from sworn returns of the cultivators, deduct a certain percentage as expenses of production, and value the remainder at certain uniform rates. Thus, on cane or sugar land a deduction of 75 per cent. was allowed for expenses, and on coffee and tobacco land 35 per cent. The net product as thus ascertained was then valued at certain fixed rates; for example, \$3.00 a quintal (hundred weight) for sugar, \$12.00 a quintal for coffee, etc. Cattle, or the increase of livestock, were similarly taxed in the country. In the cities the tax was on rent with a deduction of 25 per cent. for repairs and losses. The rate of the tax was fixed in the annual budget voted by the Spanish Chambers, usually 5 per cent for insular and 7½ per cent for municipal purposes. The tax was apportioned among the various municipalities; assessed by unsalaried commissions of taxpayers appointed by the municipal councils acting together with an assembly of tax-payers themselves, and the collection was farmed out.

The defects of the tax lie on the face of it. But on the whole, as taxes go, it was not unsuited to the actual conditions of the island. "It corresponded," says Dr. Hollander, in a brief mention of the tax in his formal report to the governor of Porto Rico, "in a rough way with schedules A and B of the present English income tax, and although open to many serious defects, and characteristically perverted and injured by defective ad-

ministration, yet the system, on the whole, embodied certain elements of equitable and scientific taxation."

The so-called industrial and commercial tax was a cumbersome, intricate and illogical system of graded license taxes which yielded between 4 and 5 per cent. of the total revenues or about 240,000 pesos. The interest on the money spent in writing and devising the law must have been about that amount.

For purposes of taxation the various occupations and professions were divided into five main groups or schedules, in each of which there were a very large number of sub-divisions differentiated in accordance with the kind and size of the business, or the amount of the income, and the size of the town. The first schedule comprehended the smaller merchants and shopkeepers in general. The taxes in this schedule varied in accordance with two main principles: the kind of occupation and the size of the town, there being eight classes of occupations and six groups of towns or forty-eight licenses in all. Thus, a warehouseman in San Juan—the largest city—paid 130 pesos a year, while the keeper of a grog shop in the same city paid only 14 pesos. But a similar warehouseman in Toa Baja would pay only 31 pesos a year, and a similar grog shop in Toa Baja only 3 pesos.

The second schedule or tariff included corporations, banks, and the higher classes of salaried officials; the third, manufacturing establishments; the fourth, handicraftsmen; the fifth, miscellaneous trades and occupations. In all, construing the law as charitably as possible, there were at least 350 different species of occupations and 55 distinct exemptions, including among others,—I quote the law,—“hospitals, charitable institutions and other religious establishments, bull

fight, masquerades, and other public entertainments organized by said establishments."

It is needless to say that the law was abused. It is almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that it was made to be abused. Not only was the tariff of licenses arbitrary and illogical, but the distinctions between the classes were as impalpable as thin air. A moderately equitable assessment of the tax was absolutely impossible.

A characteristic instance of the way in which this tax could be abused, was reported some time ago in *Harper's Weekly*. An American in charge of an electric lighting plant in Mayaguez got into difficulties with the municipal authorities by refusing to pay a *consumo* tax of 60 cents a ton on a cargo of coal which he had imported, and in the course of the dispute sued the city. He immediately received notice that his assessment for the industrial and commercial tax had been raised; he had been moved from the class of lighting companies, which paid 120 pesos a year for municipal and insular purposes, to the class of importers who paid 750 pesos a year. Later the municipal authorities learned that he had paid for the coal by drawing a draft on New York, and they promptly moved him into the higher class of importers who also do a banking business. The tax upon the latter class was 1,400 pesos a year. I made some inquiries about this incident while in Porto Rico, and was told that it was true. Whether true or not, it was certainly possible and perfectly representative of the way in which this tax was abused. Surely, Professor Seligman must have overlooked the industrial and commercial tax of Porto Rico, when he said of the property tax, that it was beyond peradventure the worst tax in the civilized world. Or else he regarded Porto Rico as uncivilized.

Consumption taxes. By far the most important group of receipts were the consumption taxes which in 1897-98 yielded more than five times as much as the direct taxes. In this group I have included the import duties, the temporary import duties, the export duties, the taxes on the embarkation and disembarkation of passengers and the loading and unloading of freight, and the *consumo* tax on petroleum.

The latter tax which yielded only about 60,000 pesos is interesting in origin if not important from the standpoint of productivity. About 1890 the Standard Oil Company set up a refinery in Porto Rico.. Shortly afterward a royal decree was issued imposing a *consumo* of two and a half pesos per 100 kilograms on all refined petroleum imported or manufactured in the island. The decree concluded with this masterly little clause: "The revenue resulting from this tax has been estimated at 60,000 pesos a year. To avoid expenses of collection, the minister of the colonies is authorized to conclude contracts with the manufacturers or refiners of these products in the island, provided that the stipulated amount be not lower than the estimate in the budget." The Spanish financier seems to have been eminently successful in the taxation of monopolies.

The tax on the loading and unloading of freight and the embarkation and disembarkation of passengers, yielded 245,000 pesos in 1897-98. It seems to have been a specific tax on passengers and on exports and imports; but the exact rates I have been unable to learn. It was first imposed in 1883.

The export taxes yielded 250,000 pesos in 1897-98, and consisted of small specific duties upon coffee, tobacco and lumber: 1 peso per 100 kilograms of coffee; 22 centavos per 100 kilograms of tobacco; 15 centavos

per 100 kilograms of lumber. As the total value of the exports of these articles in 1897-98 was about 13,500,000 pesos, the average *ad valorem* tax—computed by dividing total receipts by total value of exports—is thus seen to be considerably less than 2 per cent. This tax fell almost wholly upon coffee, and under the industrial conditions of the Spanish régime was neither oppressive nor excessively burdensome. And as most of these exports went to Spain, it was not an ungenerous tax.

It is of course impossible to go fully into the subject of the tariff. The import duties in 1897-98 yielded 2,631,000 pesos; 51 per cent. of the total revenues of Porto Rico from every source. Nothing that I might say could be more significant than this simple fact, although its significance will be more readily recognized when it is supplemented by the statement that the greater portion of this amount came from the taxes upon the foodstuffs. Over 70 per cent. of the import duties were collected on foodstuffs, and 60 per cent. of these foodstuffs consisted of pork, rice, and codfish the staple and peculiar food of the lower classes.

The import taxes consisted of the ordinary tariff charges and a so-called temporary surcharge of ten per cent upon the lowest duties levied in the regular schedule—the law contained a maximum and a minimum tariff, the latter applying to the “more favored” nations which had granted similar privileges to Spain. Imports from Spain and Cuba paid only the temporary tax of ten per cent.

It is probably unnecessary to add that in the opinion of the Porto Ricans the tariff was adjusted in the interests of the Spanish manufacturers. On goods which could be manufactured in both Spain and Porto Rico, it was asserted the tariff charges were excessively

low; while on the raw materials needed in these industries the rates were excessively high. To take a simple instance from a memorial prepared for the Spanish colonial ministry by the manufacturers of Ponce, just previous to the American war; it was pointed out that while the duty on soap imported from Barcelona was only 15 pesos per hundred boxes of 1 hundred weight each, the total duty on the raw materials required to manufacture this amount of soap was over 32 pesos.

Again, bitter protests were made by the agricultural interests of Porto Rico against the *consumo* taxes levied upon the more important Porto Rican products exported to Spain. Nominally, goods from Porto Rico were admitted into Spain free of import duties. On the other hand, Spain levied a variety of *consumo* or consumption taxes which were collected at the ports of entry and virtually amounted to import duties of great weight. Thus, sugar was taxed $33\frac{1}{3}$ pesetas per 100 kilograms, plus a ten per cent. *ad valorem* tax; while coffee paid 60 pesetas per hundred kilograms. More than one-half of the sugar, and nearly one-fourth of the coffee exported from Porto Rico, went to Spain.

Upon the virtues and defects of the Porto Rican tariff as a whole, I feel that I am not competent to express an opinion. One thing is sure. Indirect taxes must be given a relatively much more important place in Porto Rico than in England or the United States, and there undoubtedly is, as Professor Seligman has said, a prodigious amount of cant expressed about the evils of indirect taxes. Giving these truths due weight, however, it nevertheless appears to me that too much stress was placed upon the customs duties; and in the import tariff itself the ordinary foodstuffs of the poor seem to have been relatively over-taxed. Indirect taxes in gen-

eral—the taxes which we all forget to complain about in our effort to shift them off upon our neighbors—were sadly overworked. Pluck the goose with the minimum amount of squawk ; it is a convenient principle and perhaps a defensible one among a self-governing people who vote their own taxes and, from the financial standpoint, make or mar their own destiny. But as a principle of colonial finance, imposed by a superior upon a dependent people, for the purpose of raising revenues nearly one-half of which were expended in the interest of the superior nation, it lacks every element of justice, and even, I may add, of far-sighted expediency.

DEBT UNDER THE SPANISH RULE.

Let us be just to Spain. Whatever the temptation to do otherwise, Porto Rico was never saddled with a public debt. With the exception of a short period following the emancipation of the slaves, Porto Rico has contracted no permanent debt in the last half-century ; and municipal borrowing has been confined to a minimum.

As a matter of fact a small annual surplus was usually secured, and this, at intervals, was borrowed by Spain and used in the settlement of the Cuban difficulties. During the ten years' war, for instance, Spain transferred in this way about \$3,000,000, called it a Cuban debt, and made Cuba responsible for its repayment. Of more than \$4,000,000 taken at various times, \$2,253,516 still remain unpaid : Porto Rico's contribution towards the glorious cause of suppressing Cuban insurrection.¹

¹ See testimony of Mr. Nicholas Daubon in the *Report on the Island of Porto Rico* by Henry K. Carroll, special commissioner for the United States to Porto Rico, pp. 250, 251.

skillful election laws and the powers conferred upon its representative in Porto Rico, the governor general, controlled absolutely the modicum of representation which Porto Rico was allowed in the government.

And looking to the administration of the island, it is no criticism, but a mere exposition of the provincial law, to say that the administration was the governor general and the governor general the administration. In the later history of the island we catch fleeting glimpses of a board of authorities, a council of administration, and a provincial deputation. But the first two were explicitly and the latter was in reality "under the direct and immediate orders of the governor general." Not only was he commander in chief of the army and navy, head of the established church, commissioner of education, and executive head of the administration, with plenary power to suspend and appoint officials, issue administrative orders, remove and fine members of the provincial deputation and municipal councils, but in point of fact he exercised these powers, "naming every employee of the municipal governments," said a prominent Porto Rican to me, "from alcalde down to porters and janitors."

It should be said that Spain made some effort both to divorce the financial administration of the island from the general administration, and to introduce a certain element of home rule into the financial administration. Thus the receipt and disbursement of the insular funds, the initial drafting of the insular budget, the collection of customs and the financial administration in general, were under the control of an intendant, who originally—that is, by the royal decree of September 12, 1870—was directly responsible to the colonial ministry at Madrid. But as both the governor general and the in-

The governor of Porto Rico is appointed by the president of the United States and because of the failure of the first legislative assembly to pass a new municipal law, he temporarily retains all the municipal powers conferred upon the governor general by the old Spanish law. Otherwise he differs in no important respect from the chief executive of an ordinary American state.

The executive council—the upper legislative chamber—consists of five native Porto Ricans and the six heads of the administrative departments, at present all Americans. The government is thus a modified form of cabinet government. The lower legislative chamber—the house of delegates—consists of thirty-five members elected by the male citizens of Porto Rico who pay taxes or who can read or write. The right to grant franchises and concessions of a public or quasi-public nature is confined to the executive council, but with this exception the powers of the two legislative houses are equal and coördinate. These powers are of the broadest kind; they shall extend, says the Foraker Act, “to all matters of a legislative character not locally inapplicable.” In many respects they are broader and more inclusive than those of the legislature of an American state. For instance, they can pass and enforce their own excise or internal revenue laws. It is scarcely necessary to add that it is this legislative assembly that frames the budget, votes supplies, fixes the appropriations and determines the taxes by which the revenues are to be raised. The present government of Porto Rico is at San Juan, not at the national capital.

Above and superior to the legislative assembly there, of course, remains the power of Congress, which specifically reserves the right to veto any law of the legislature

or annul any franchise granted by the executive council. The important questions for us—and for Porto Rico as well—are simply these: in what degree and in what spirit has Congress legislated for Porto Rico?

The first question may be answered in a few words, though it is a question for the future rather than of the past. There has been a minimum of interference on the part of the home country. Congress has retained control of the tariff, brought the currency of the island into conformity with the American system, prohibited the taxation of exports, and forbidden either the insular or any municipal government to contract indebtedness in excess of seven per cent. of the taxable property within their respective jurisdictions. This comprehends practically the whole interference of Congress in the financial affairs of Porto Rico. The government at San Juan has been given free rein. It is true, moreover, that because of the appointive character of the governor and executive council, the American element at San Juan holds a complete check upon fiscal legislation. But it is equally true that the same negative power is held by the native house of delegates.

Concerning the character of American legislation for Porto Rico up to the present date, judging it solely from the standpoint of Porto Rico's needs and not from the standpoint of our own problem of expansion, I have no hesitation in describing it as legislation of the wisest and most generous nature. From the \$2,000,000 refund to Porto Rico of the customs duties collected on Porto Rican imports and exports during the military government, to the much abused Foraker act, there is little or nothing which cannot fittingly be described by the words: "legislation of the wisest and most generous nature."

It was generous because it set aside for the use and benefit of Porto Rico two profitable sources of revenue which under ordinary circumstances are reserved for the federal government; the total customs collections in Porto Rico and the customs collected in the United States upon imports from Porto Rico. It was wise because it placed Porto Rico upon an unique basis by making the internal revenue laws inoperative in the island, and by permitting the insular government to levy and collect a system of excise taxes of its own devising. These were the compensations, and in a degree, the results of the fifteen per cent. tariff that so keenly agitated the sympathies of the people of the United States, and which was so sorely needed by the Porto Rican government at the time it was imposed. Moreover, in so far as that tariff placed Porto Rico upon a colonial instead of the customary territorial basis, it was a most fortunate thing for the pocket books of the Porto Ricans. The insular budget amounts to about two million dollars a year. Of this amount it is calculated that about one-fourth will come from the property tax, 37 ½ per cent. from the excise taxes, and nearly the same proportion from the customs collections in Porto Rico. The last two items, constituting three-fourths of the total receipts, are federal revenues, and so far as I know to the contrary allotted to no other local government under the jurisdiction of Congress. The Foraker act may have shunted the car of American progress off on a new and dangerous path, but together with the two million refunding act it has placed Porto Rico upon a financial basis of unexcelled security.

The difference between American and Spanish government is the difference between broad, general guid-

ance, and officious, minute and perpetual interference. We have started with a Porto Rican legislature; after 400 years of government, Spain had not succeeded in fully introducing one. We have sent them men who have rigidly abstained from interference in local politics; Spain sent them governors who dictated local politics. We have encouraged and fostered the capacity of self-government. They studiously repressed it. We have voted them large grants of money and in times of public distress, sent them assistance. Spain borrowed from them and failed to repay. We have undoubtedly put our best foot foremost. The task will be to persevere as we have begun.

EXPENDITURES UNDER AMERICAN RULE.

Perhaps the most striking contrast between the Spanish and American budgets of Porto Rico is the simple difference in the amount of expenditures. In the last year of the Spanish régime Porto Rico spent, in round figures and American money, \$2,852,425. The appropriation bills passed by the first legislative assembly amounted in all to \$1,976,802.21. This amount Dr. Hollander, in a careful estimate, thinks will probably be increased to \$2,000,000 by the legislative assembly now sitting. American sovereignty has thus meant for Porto Rico a reduction in expenditures of about \$850,000 a year: 30 per cent. of the entire expenditures under the old régime. We levy no compulsory contributions for the maintenance of sovereignty; we have no established church to support, and we pay for our own military establishments. Section 12 of the Foraker Act specifically provides that all expenses and obligations contracted for defenses, barracks, harbors, light-houses, buoys and other works

undertaken by the United States, shall be paid by the latter and not by Porto Rico.

The army, the navy, the church and the home government cost Porto Rico about \$1,300,000 a year under Spanish rule. These expenses disappeared with the Spanish government, but in reality Porto Rico is saving \$400,000 or \$500,000 a year less than this, and in the near future, I believe, the budget will reach the old figure. The reasons for this are brief and significant. In the last year of Spanish control, for instance, \$72,117 was appropriated by the insular government for schools; in the present fiscal year more than \$500,000 has been appropriated for schools. In the fiscal year 1897-98, \$84,543 were spent upon prisons, charities and public health; in the present fiscal year there have been appropriated for these purposes \$230,575. With regard to the expenditures for public works, highways, and insular police, on the other hand, a word of commendation should be said of the Spanish government. While it is not possible to make as exact comparison in these as in the preceding items, the bare figures show that for roads, public works, etc., there were appropriated in 1897-98, \$403,523: in 1901-1902 only \$378,942: that the Spanish civil guard received \$256,356 in 1897-98: the American insular police only \$204,350. The testimony is universal that under the Spanish government crimes of violence were vigorously suppressed.

Further comparison between specific expenditures would be both impossible and unprofitable; unprofitable, because we know nothing about the relative efficiency of the services of the two governments. In general, however, I think I am safe in predicting that the mere money cost of the American administration is going to be much higher than that of the Spanish.

This will result from the fact that we are paying laborers, clerks and lower grade employees in general, much higher salaries; and from Spain's peculiar method of making almost all elective and many appointive offices in Porto Rico, honorary and compulsory. Not only provincial deputies, but municipal judges, municipal councillors, syndics, tax assessors, ward mayors and a number of other officials were without compensation—though as I pointed out with reference to the provincial deputation, they were "compulsory and liable." The result was corruption and jobbery of the grossest kind, particularly among the municipal judges. But it made government cheap.

REVENUES UNDER AMERICAN RULE.

The existing revenue system should not require more than a few paragraphs. Less than ten days after the American occupation of Porto Rico, the military government abolished the use of documentary stamps and stamped paper; and a month later the real dues on the inheritance and transfer of property were annulled. Following this came a gradual repeal of the *consumos* or *octrois* which the municipalities had been allowed to levy on meat, drink and fuel; and the abolition of the lottery, the passport tax, the export duties and other minor revenues followed in rapid succession. Amid the complex and multitudinous system handed down by the Spanish, our military government slashed and destroyed, repealed and annulled, until the Porto Ricans came to believe that American government meant exemption from direct taxes, and the military government would have gone bankrupt had it not been for that much abused temporary tariff.

There is of course a good deal of exaggeration in this

statement, but it serves to impress the points I wish to make: that the supplies we sent to Porto Rico after the hurricane together with the activity of the military government—properly destructive—came very near pauperizing certain elements of the population and undoubtedly made the reimposition of adequate direct taxation a very difficult task. The moral atmosphere created by the military government gave Dr. Hollander many a bad quarter of an hour. On the other hand, their destructive work made it necessary and possible to replace the old system by an entirely new one.

The break with the past having been effectively made, it was necessary to adopt an American system. And this in fact was done by the revenue act of January 31, 1901. The last vestiges of the Spanish system—the fixed land tax and the *consumo* taxes—were abolished for insular purposes and replaced by a property tax, a system of excises, and a progressive inheritance tax. The last is so unimportant and so like the inheritance tax employed in the United States, that I shall not speak of it further. Less than \$5,000 a year are expected from it.

The property tax is not essentially different from the ordinary property tax of the states. The ordinary exemptions of schools, churches, working tools, etc., have been made. Mortgages are treated as an interest in the property, and where a contract does not exist making the taxes payable by the mortgager they are taxed to the mortgagee. An interesting feature of the tax which worked with conspicuous success was a provision for the exemption of debt. Tax payers were allowed to subtract their debts, when the creditors resided in Porto Rico, by entering upon their schedules a specific list of their creditors and the corresponding amount owed to

each. As soon as the list of debts was received by the assessor he forwarded a copy to the central office, where a sort of clearing-house was maintained, from which a memorandum of each debt was forwarded to the assessor of the district in which the creditor lived, with instructions to see that it was entered upon the creditor's schedule. The scheme not only worked easily and successfully, but it succeeded in bringing to light an immense amount of intangible property that would otherwise have escaped.

The really important changes introduced by the property tax were administrative. The old direct taxes had been levied by the Spanish Cortes, assessed by nearly two hundred separate commissions appointed by sixty-six municipal councils of the island, and collected for a percentage by a private company. "In the assessment particularly, there was no central control, no unity of administration and no uniformity of valuation." Under the American system the tax is levied by the legislative assembly, assessed by paid assessors appointed by the insular government and directed by a supervisor of assessment, acting under the general direction of the treasurer. Collection by salaried officials has replaced the old method of letting out the collection to private parties. The property tax is expected to yield about \$500,000 a year to the insular government.

By far the most important part of the present revenue system is the group of stamp taxes; the documentary taxes; the license taxes on dealers in alcoholic liquors, cigars and fire-arms; and the excise taxes upon the manufacture and importation of proprietary medicines, perfumery, cosmetics, toilet articles, playing cards, fire-arms, ammunition, oleomargarine, matches, alcoholic liquors and manufactured tobaccos of all kinds. Speak-

generally the rates of these taxes are considerably lower than those imposed on similar articles in the United States. The estimated yield of the stamp taxes in the present fiscal year is \$700,000.

Besides the difference in rates, there are other important differences between the excise system of Porto Rico and that of the United States. In the United States, the stamp is placed upon the package of sale at the time of manufacture, or upon removal from bond, while the most thorough surveillance is maintained both of the sale and manufacture. In Porto Rico, the stamp will be placed on the bill of sale or lading which accompanies the shipment of goods from the factory. These changes were necessitated by the fact that it was impossible to supply bonded warehouses in Porto Rico at present, while the manufacture of rum and tobacco, although relatively much more important industries than those of the United States, could not bear the same rates of taxation. It has been repeatedly demonstrated, moreover, that the manufacturers are unable to pay the taxes upon their stocks of finished products until they are sold, the purchaser, at present, almost always forwarding the stamps required on the goods which he purchases. At the same time, the device of placing the stamps on the retail packages is a failure in Porto Rico. The patient peon is too economical to tear the stamp upon his box of cigarettes or matches. He seats himself in the sun and soaks the stamp off, washes it, and sells it to some unscrupulous manufacturer, in return for more cigarettes or matches. And it was found impossible to root out the practice by any reasonable amount of surveillance, because of the mountainous character of the county, the cost of transportation, the lack of police and the universality of the practice.

Under the present system each manufacturer will be furnished with a stub invoice book, on the page and stub of which he will be required to describe each shipment which leaves his factory. The stamps will then be pasted over the perforated line which separates the stub and the bill, in such a way that when the bill is detached part of each stamp will be left upon the stub and part upon the bill. Manufacturers will be required to return the stubs to the treasury, and merchants the bills, at regular intervals, so that in this way a reliable check can be kept upon the goods manufactured and sold in the island; while a perfect check can be kept upon imports and exports by means of the customs officers and the applications for the exemptions allowed upon exports.

In concluding this hasty summary of the existing revenue system of Porto Rico, it should be said that the customs collected upon goods from foreign countries imported into Porto Rico—the proceeds of which go to the insular treasury—are expected to yield \$750,000 in the present fiscal year. This yield, however, is not expected to continue indefinitely. In a few years, owing to the growth of the trade between Porto Rico and the United States, now that the tariff barriers have been removed, the yield of the import duties will probably fall to \$300,000 a year or less. The preëminence of the customs receipts is a temporary phenomenon.

Of the estimated revenue of \$2,000,000, then, two and a half per cent. or \$50,000 is expected from the inheritance tax and miscellaneous sources; \$500,000 or twenty-five per cent. from the direct tax upon property; \$700,000 or thirty-five per cent. from the stamp taxes, almost all of which fall on the consumption of liquors and

tobacco ; and \$750,000 or thirty-seven and one-half per cent. from the import duties.

These figures taken in connection with the corresponding proportions in the Spanish budget of receipts convey with striking emphasis the difference between the American and the Spanish systems of revenue. In the one complexity ; in the other simplicity. In the earlier system thirteen per cent. from direct taxes, nothing from sumptuary excise taxes, and sixty-seven per cent. from customs duties falling in the main upon necessities ; in the latter twenty-five per cent. from direct taxes, thirty-five per cent. from sumptuary excises, and a little more from the Dingley Tariff. In short, the Americanization of Porto Rico has meant, from the fiscal point of view, first, a substantial reduction in the burden of taxation ; second, a simplification of the system of taxation ; next, a relative increase in the taxation of accumulated property as opposed to taxes upon the sale, consumption and transfer of property ; and finally, a shifting of the center of gravity of the consumption taxes from the consumers of codfish and pork to the consumers of rum and tobacco. Whether the two classes of consumers are essentially different or not, is, I must confess, a doubtful question. It is to be hoped, however, that under the present arrangement the peon will get a little more codfish and a little less rum.

DISCUSSION.

JACOB H. HOLLANDER : The one signal omission in the paper just read is any intimation of the service which Dr. Adams himself rendered in the work of fiscal reconstruction he has described. He was invited to join the treasurer's staff just as a revenue system was being prepared for submission to the insular legislature. His services in drafting the general property tax law were most important. He had practically exclusive charge of the difficult work of assessing domestic and foreign corporations, and from first to last his presence in Porto Rico was an aid and a comfort to those charged with the financial administration of the island.

Perhaps the most instructive lesson to a body such as this, in the recent financial experience of Porto Rico, is the mutual obligation in successful public financing of the financial theorist and the financial administrator. This is not only the well established principle that the best laws may be perverted and abused in execution. But, more fundamentally, that just as no degree of technique can redeem an unsound financial measure, so no fiscal device however faultless in theory is good unless it possesses the possibility of administrative efficiency.

In the fiscal reconstruction of Porto Rico, the fullest opportunity was given for the adoption of scientific principles,—first, by reliance upon presumably expert opinion ; second, by the exemption of the island from the internal revenue laws of the United States, and third, by the grant of full financial power to the insular legislature. It is true that the tariff legislation for the island was not, as in the recent Philippine bill, devised specifically with reference to insular conditions, but much of the inconvenience that might have arisen from this fact was reduced first by executive modifications of

the original schedules, and thereafter by the anticipation and realization of free trade with the United States. On the whole in Porto Rico, as not often elsewhere, financial theory had free hand and fair field.

On the other hand the financial theorist will emerge from careful study of the actual details of the fiscal revision of the island with meek heart and chastened spirit. On every side he is confronted with evidence of the overwhelming importance of that which he had heretofore lightly brushed aside as financial technique or relegated to the convenient limbo of financial administration. His exclusive concern has theretofore been, for example, as to what commodities and what rates should enter in an excise schedule, or as to whether a general property tax should exempt mortgages or allow deduction for indebtedness. But his actual experience is to find that these considerations are absolutely not one whit more important than the questions whether the payment of the excises should be evidenced by the affixture of a stamp to the commodity or otherwise, and whether the assessment schedule should be ruled in this way rather than that, or contain these questions rather than those. Indeed relative to the ultimate success or failure of his desires they are not so important. He finds that it is no greater sin to neglect local conditions and historical development than to ignore a mental reaction and a subjective preparedness for almost radically different financial institutions. He discovers that canons of taxation, laws of incidence and fiscal rules-of-thumb are as relative to time, place and conditions as the dicta of the classical political economy; that the economic man has a twin brother in the fiscal man, and that unthinking reliance upon the one is as dangerous as upon the other. His return to academic activity will

be signalized by a greater insistence upon the principle of financial relativity, by a bolder assertion of the indissoluble connection of technique with theory, and by a less dogmatic state of mind that will probably tend to make his preachment sounder and his influence greater.

The actual operation of the new revenue system since the beginning of the present fiscal year, July 1, 1901,—the period when the new law went into full operation—is full of interest. For the five months ending November 30, 1901, the ordinary receipts of the insular treasury have been \$1,000,542.62. The ordinary expenditures for the same period have been \$881,976.64, making an excess of receipts over expenditures of \$118,565.98.

This result is, however, somewhat misleading, in consequence of the facts that insular expenditures are not spread proportionately over the twelve months, and also that payments on account of the property and delinquent taxes are heavier in the earlier than in the latter part of the year. A safer procedure would be to compare the insular budget and its estimate of receipts with the actual results for the five months.

The necessary expenses for carrying on the government of the island for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1901, as authorized by the insular legislature in general and special appropriation bills, aggregated \$1,976,802.21. The estimated receipts of the treasury were customs duties \$784,775; excise taxes \$715,343; property and delinquent direct taxes \$500,000—aggregating \$2,000,118; or \$23,315.79 more than the authorized expenditures with no account taken of minor miscellaneous receipts.

In each of the three essential sources of revenue, the actual receipts for the five months ending November

30, 1901, have justified the budgetary estimates and in two cases by comfortable margins. Thus, customs have yielded \$332,987.57, as against an estimate of \$326,989.55, or an actual monthly average of \$66,597.51, as against an estimate of \$65,397.91. Excises have produced \$349,429.77, as against an estimate of \$350,658.30; or an actual monthly average of \$69,885.95, as against an estimate of \$70,131.66. Direct taxation has yielded \$274,874.34 as against an estimate of \$208,333.30, or an actual monthly average of \$54,974.86, as against an estimate of \$41,666.66. Finally from minor miscellaneous sources—upon which no reliance whatever was put—has come \$17,361.73, exclusive of refunds.

In financial matters five months constitute an insufficient period for safe prophesy as to the results of a twelve-month. But considering the facts at hand and the tendencies now evident, there seems full reason for upposing that with no disturbing factor or unexpected occurrence the aggregate budgetary estimate for the fiscal year will be safely realized.

Any word as to the future is even more hazardous. As has been said elsewhere: "Without a dollar of funded or floating indebtedness, with a current income estimated as sufficient to meet the ordinary expenses of government, with large reserve funds to provide for unforeseen or extraordinary contingencies, and with a lighter burden of taxation upon the real economic life of the island than at any time in its history, there seems every reason for regarding the financial future of Porto Rico as bright and auspicious."

It would be ridiculous to suppose that all further necessity for financial legislation in Porto Rico has been removed. But it is only time, experience and specific conditions, that will clearly indicate where and when—

without any departure from fundamental principles—omission, amendment, or addition are desirable. In any event it seems no unwarranted optimism to believe that both in subjective appreciation and in objective fact a secure and enduring financial basis has been laid.

HENRY C. ADAMS: I do not rise with the intention of entering upon a discussion of the points presented in Dr. Hollander's excellent paper, but rather with the purpose of thanking him for the very strong and, I think, very just statement he has made of the importance of administrative considerations in the discussion of financial problems. My feeling has always been that for the scientific understanding of a great industrial or financial system, it is essential that the administrative requirements be taken into consideration. Indeed, I would go so far as to assert that theoretic analysis is likely to miss its highest aim unless one's conclusions be subjected to the test of administration. Dr. Hollander has very properly emphasized the close relation which exists between the theoretic and administrative principles in his discussion of the financial situation in Porto Rico. It is a point of view which even the theorist in economics cannot afford to overlook. And it is certainly propitious for the future of political economy in the United States that we find so large a number of men who have trained themselves in economic theory willing to undertake practical work in administration. In this regard the situation is very different from what it was when a few of us met together in Saratoga for the formation of the American Economic Association. A very respectable number of the members of this Association, either in their capacity as directors of public bureaus, or as experts, have already placed their trained intelligence at the service of the federal government, the state govern-

ments and the municipal governments of our country. I could not restrain my desire to avail myself of this opportunity to express my appreciation of the strong statements of Dr. Hollander in this regard.

FEDERICO DEGETAU:¹ There have been some statements here and some impressions made which I desire to rectify. I have not heard the first part of Mr. Adams's study, but from what I have heard it seems to me that it is necessary to make clear some points. You have heard, concerning the situation of Porto Rico under Spanish rule, that there were a superior and an inferior people, as if the Porto Rican people were placed in an inferior political relation towards the Spanish people. I must declare that I know nothing about that, and I am a Porto Rican born. On the contrary, I ought to state that Porto Rico was, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, a province of Spain equal to the other provinces. In some matters, Porto Rico had an autonomy not enjoyed by the other provinces of Spain. I refer especially to the economic relations, in which Porto Rico had an autonomy that your states do not enjoy here; and if you wish to see it confirmed by an American authority, you can read the statement of General Davis concerning the latitude and power given to the government of the island, in his report to the war department on the civil affairs of Porto Rico. The fact that the annual budget of the island was approved by the congress at Madrid would seem to give the impression that Porto Rico occupied an inferior status in relation to the Spanish government. If you think that we were in Porto Rico in the same, or similar, condition in which we are now temporarily—deprived of representa-

¹ Mr. Degetau is resident commissioner from Porto Rico.

tion in that congress—then this would seem true, but it was not so. When we were under Spanish rule, Porto Rico elected her people to represent her in the congress of Spain. We elected sixteen members to the House of Representatives. I, myself, was lately one of those representatives. We also elected four members to the senate. The congress approved the budget, because in it was vested the national sovereignty. But this authority was not an exclusive at tribute of the Spanish peninsula, but was shared by the people of the island, as it has been seen, whose representatives in the house and senate at Madrid had equal rights and privileges to those of the other provinces.

There is another point on which I ought to dwell. I refer to a matter that is awaiting decision. That is the debt of the treasury of Cuba to the people of Porto Rico. It has been said by Mr. Adams, in his paper, that Spain took the money from Porto Rico in order to use it in the war against Cuba. I have studied that question because it was my duty, and I ought to declare that his statement is not scientifically accurate. In order that you may comprehend the question, I will explain briefly how these things worked under the Spanish rule. The Porto Rican treasury, has, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, been recognized as independent of the treasury of Spain and of the treasury of Cuba. The island of Porto Rico made some loans to Cuba, in many cases when it was not in time of war. Some of these loans had no relation whatever to the war. For instance, once, in order to avoid a monetary crisis in Cuba, Porto Rico gave her some thousands—I do not remember how many. I did not come here prepared to speak, so you will excuse me if I do not give you the figures.

I would be glad to give you some explanation of some

of the other matters treated in the study of Mr. Adams, but I will merely explain the reference to the bull fights mixed in the same clause with educational and charitable institutions for the purpose of taxation. That anomaly is due to the fact that in Porto Rico bull fights were not a general amusement. There is not in any city of the island a "plaza de toros," the special place for such sport which is found in almost every Spanish city. It is a pleasure to state that bull fights were not a popular festival in my native country. The bull fights occurred very seldom in Porto Rico, and were fought by the Spanish officers there in the garrisons. These officers generally dedicated the profits of the feasts to charitable institutions. This was the reason for that provision.

MR. ADAMS: I was rather careful to choose my language when I stated that three million dollars had been taken by Spain and used in the settlement of her Cuban difficulties. In the time limit of thirty minutes one can't go into details. As a matter of fact the money spent by Spain in the attempt to crush the various insurrections of Cuba was made an obligatory debt on Cuba. Three million dollars was borrowed out of the Porto Rican treasury and sent to Cuba during the ten years' war and thus became a Cuban debt. Of this amount, I understand, a large proportion has never been repaid. It is in this sense and in this way that I meant that Porto Rico had contributed some two million two hundred thousand dollars towards the suppression of Cuban insurrection. I do not think it is a stretch of language to use the words in that meaning.

With respect to the representation of Porto Rico, you are aware that I was careful to point out that Porto Rico

was represented in the Spanish Cortes but if Señor Degatau will take occasion to explain the electoral law in Porto Rico it will become quite apparent, I think, that the representation in the Spanish Cortes was more apparent than real. For instance, if I remember rightly, and I am trusting to my memory here, to vote in Porto Rico it was necessary to pay at least twenty pesos direct taxes.

MR. DEGATAU: I was elected by universal suffrage.

MR. ADAMS: When were you elected?

MR. DEGATAU: 1898.

MR. ADAMS: How long did the universal suffrage last?

MR. DEGATAU: Until the war with the United States, but it was originally introduced in 1869. They elected me first in 1878 and the second time in 1898 and I served until the war.

MR. ADAMS: When did you say was the interval of universal suffrage?

MR. DEGATAU: 1869 to 1874.

MR. ADAMS: What I wanted to call your attention to was the fact that during the interval between 1876 and 1890, or really up to 1898, the suffrage was so confined that it was possible for the Spanish administration if it so wished to control absolutely the representation of Porto Rico. The electoral law of 1890 provided I think—I may be wrong in these figures but I think I am correct—that an individual to vote must pay twenty pesos,—twelve dollars—in direct taxes, or he must be an office holder. The consequence was at that one time, I am told, the number of voters in San Juan who voted because of holding office was greater than the number of persons who voted because of the payment of the twenty pesos tax.

UNIFORM MUNICIPAL ACCOUNTS AND STATISTICS.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

At the last meeting of the Association your committee submitted a report in which the work needing to be done to secure a uniform system of municipal accounts and statistics was reviewed, the part in that work which might best be undertaken by this committee was discussed, and certain conclusions were stated.¹

The report was supplemented by two appendices entitled: (1) "Uniform Accounting a Prerequisite to National Municipal Statistics," and (2) "Progress toward Uniform Municipal Statistics in the United States." In the latter paper the work was reviewed up to the close of 1900. Since there was practically no discussion of the first report, and the main points at issue have changed little, if at all, during the year, it seems advisable again to bring the report of 1900 before the Association.

Attention is called especially to the eight conclusions printed on pages 260-261 of the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting, upon which the following comments are offered:

In the year which has elapsed since the first report was made it has become evident that conclusions 1 to 4 are pretty generally accepted by those interested in the subject under discussion. No. 5, relating to coöperative efforts, has been even more generously received, and several steps have been taken to carry it into effect.

¹ Publications of the American Economic Association, 3d series, 2:254-262.

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Nos. 6 and 7, relating to state control and the publication of state summaries, respectively, may be left, with advantage, until this movement has attained more definite shape and greater volume and force than could be expected in so short a time.

As to the first part of no. 8, the United States Department of Labor, through congressional authorization, is continuing its summaries of statistics for cities of 30,000 and upwards, and it is a pleasure to say the work grows better year by year. The last part of no. 8 might, perhaps, be profitably changed into a general inquiry as to what the present Census Office may undertake with greatest advantage in the way of municipal statistics. This inquiry is more pertinent now than it was a year ago, in view of the fact that there is no prospect that the Census Office will reach the municipal investigations before the latter part of 1902.

Since the Detroit meeting of this Association, a committee of the National Municipal League, of which two members of your committee are likewise members, has been formed. This committee is actively engaged in an attempt to formulate a general system of uniform municipal accounting. It is also trying to bring into unity the efforts of various special societies, like water-works associations, to perfect either schemes of accounting or summaries of statistics for annual reports. The work of the National Municipal League committee, up to May, 1901, is outlined in a published report, copies of which are available here or may be secured from the members of either committee. The League hopes that by the date of its next annual meeting it may be able to present both a series of schedules for municipal accounting, and summaries of the statistics of many branches of the municipal service.

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Your own committee requests the members of the Association to co-operate in the general movement by aiding in the formulation of schedules, and by trying to induce city officials generally to apply to their respective municipalities and departments the schedules as formulated. Much of the work is necessarily tentative, and its value cannot be judged until the proposed form of schedules has been tested by actual practice.

MOSES N. BAKER, Chairman.

HENRY B. GARDNER,

ED. W. BEMIS,

E. DANA DURAND,

FREDERICK R. CLOW.

DISCUSSION.

CHARLES E. CURTIS : One looks over this report with a feeling of gratitude to the framers of it, and a feeling of appreciation of the large amount of effort that has been put into it, and the chairman and the other members of the committee deserve the hearty thanks of all municipal administrators throughout the country. There are one or two features of it of which I should like to speak, not in a critical way, but merely as a matter under discussion, and to suggest a little different standpoint, possibly, from the one which most economists would take. There is no question but that statistics relating to many subjects will be readily obtained, but where the real friction, if any, will come in gaining these statistics is in the items connected with franchises, and particularly in regard to semi-public corporations. While there is no doubt that in some cases these franchises have been abused, there is, I think, a question as to whether the managers of these properties who will be asked, in some cases have been asked, to furnish data may not have a natural and justifiable reluctance in furnishing it. I have the impression from conversation with such managers that in a good many cases they are less interested in the statistics from other cities than they are alarmed at the attitude and teachings of some of the economists themselves. Now if data of this sort are to be obtained, the coöperation of the semi-public companies is desirable, and they should be assured in some way that the data sought for is to be absolutely impartial, and that the questions asked are to be such as will show the facts only, without any attempt or disposition to use the data

to support a theory or notion already conceived. In the appendix to the report is mentioned, on page two hundred and seventy-seven, that "at the last meeting of the National Electric Light Association, held in Chicago in May, 1900, Mr. James B. Cahoon, of Syracuse, N. Y., submitted detailed forms for uniform gas and electric lighting accounts. The convention voted to have the committee prepare a system of uniform accounting to be presented at the next annual meeting"; and a foot-note adds: "One of Mr. Cahoon's chief objects in submitting the paper and schedules was to stem the tide in favor of municipal ownership."

Here, then, were schedules made up for the express purpose of supporting certain propositions. This is to be deprecated. The statistics sought for should neither be intended to support nor refute the argument for municipal ownership, but should be such as will reveal the weak points and the strong points of both public and private ownership.

The report says, on page 265: "But unfortunately the council committees that undertake so many of these investigations are rarely trained statisticians or appreciative of the value of such persons; so the figures are put together somehow, and made to fit a preconceived or ill-conceived theory, and money and perhaps human lives are sacrificed as a result."

Now I believe there are many laymen who fear that in the writings of some of the modern economists the data sought for may be used to fit a pre-conceived or ill-conceived theory, and that is one of the things which should be guarded against very carefully. If the statistics are to be serviceable, the questions asked and the schedules used must be absolutely impartial in their tone. Consider the statistics as used by the labor

commissioners in certain states, statistics that have been used by some economists in a way that has supported their theories most vigorously. These are partial statistics, and incomplete ; but they are used, and are misleading in their results. It has come to be rather a fad among some people, to condemn semi-public companies, and to demand that the municipalities shall engage in industrial enterprises. Not only should we be interested in statistics as a means of correcting the abuses of private companies, but we should also be equally anxious to secure uniform statistics as a means of checking the abuses of municipalities themselves ; and the statistics sought should be such as will show both classes of abuses. The council committees referred to here, in some cases at least, look up to and respect the economists of the day. If that respect is to be maintained, the utmost impartiality in such matters as these must be observed. The statistics will be worth the effort of the laymen whose services you will have to use in getting the data, they will be worth the assistance of the officials of companies and of municipalities, upon one condition. If they are to be used to enable Professor A. to demonstrate that Professor B. was mistaken in his last treatise, they are not worth the labor of the rest of us to obtain. If they are to be used, on the other hand, to enable our municipal administrators more correctly to judge of their own duties, so that they may improve the condition of folks, they will be of value. The words of Professor Van Dyke should be often considered : " Keep me from caring more for books than for folks."

ROLAND P. FALKNER : The report calls attention to the chaotic conditions of all official records of what most

vitality concerns the people in the administration of local and municipal government. In a field where opinion can be formed and a guiding policy selected only by processes of comparison, the elements of comparison are wholly lacking. If this variety were the result of wholly different local conditions, and the product of a careful adaptation of means to ends we might applaud the result and rejoice that not a dead uniformity but a strong individuality characterizes our local government. But unfortunately the variety is the result of ignorance, indifference and neglect, the bungling makeshift of unskilled artisans.

The problem before us is how to awaken a popular consciousness of this fact and how when awakened to embody this feeling in remedial action. I venture to think that in the first endeavor we must be far more specific than the report before us. It seems to me that we must draw more generously upon illustrations expressed largely in dollars and cents. The comparability of local administration as an abstraction may be a motive sufficiently powerful to stimulate this body or any other body of specialists to the passage of vigorous resolutions, but not one to move public opinion or incite legislation. In certain lines of municipal activity, in certain states, uniformity of records is already a fact. Can we not draw a picture of "before" and "after" which shall carry the same conviction with the public as is supposed to follow the advertisement of hair restorers? A municipal campaign was not long ago conducted in Philadelphia in which the extravagance of the dominant party formed the keynote of the attack. Figures were adduced to show that in twenty years the municipal expenditures had doubled. No one seemed to have thought that the per capita expenditure had not increased in that propor-

tion, and the fact that in the earlier period the gas works were operated by a trust or commission which turned a net balance only into the treasury, while in the later period under city management the entire operating expenses figured as outlay, though the operation still netted a profit was wholly ignored. A system of uniform municipal accounting equally well adapted to bring out real expenditure under either organization would have obviated such an absurd campaign. It is only by such concrete illustrations piled mountain high that a general principle becomes a popular axiom. For not until the voters seize the facts which are so plain to us can our schemes of reform become anything more than pious wishes.

Supposing, however, that happy day arrived when our efforts have not only convinced aenemic reformers and drawing room agitators that good book-keeping is a necessary adjunct of good government, but have brought it down to the workingman that under the cover of vague and uncertain accounting rascality of all kinds flourishes, how shall they obtain a remedy?

Of all the means pointed out none seems to offer better prospects of success than the passage of the state laws of supervision over accounts, to be kept in accordance with forms prescribed by state authority. Individual cities may reform their methods, but cannot impose them upon others. As object lessons their efforts are of the highest value, and it may well be worthy of municipal enterprise to adopt systems of records so complete and so well adapted to the purpose which they serve that they would be selected by state legislatures as types for the state as a whole.

One of the means which, in my judgment, would more than anything else contribute to hastening the day

would be the immediate erection of statistical departments in our states and cities. Such officers should be charged with embodying the results of administrative labor instalments in statements easily comprehended. It is the function of statistics to render book-keeping intelligible, and by book-keeping is here included not only accounts in dollars and cents, but all records dealing with classes of facts whose aggregates, compositions or relations to other facts are matters of social significance. That such an effort to systematize the records of local administration would be beset with difficulties is indubitable, but the horrible examples which such an effort would bring to light would be a cumulative force in the direction of uniform regulation which could not be withstood. I have ever believed that the true way to accomplish reform in statistical methods was first to do with those at hand the best which they could accomplish, demonstrate thus the practical value of statistics and thus create a demand for something better.

HARVEY S. CHASE: The city of Chicago with its annual income of twenty-five or thirty millions of dollars is in a very peculiar situation. The application there of the principles of uniform accounting as laid down by the co-ordinating associations, of which this committee represents one, is probably the most notable application that has been made, or perhaps will be made for some time. It may be worth while to give a brief statement in regard to it.

Through the Merchants' Club of Chicago an investigation of the city's affairs was made a year or so ago. The result of this private investigation was such that the city council entered into contracts with well known accountants to investigate the special assessment ac-

counts running back to the year of the fire, 1871; and to report upon a system intended for the entire reorganization of the city's accounts. These matters are now nearing completion. The system of accounts was reported at the end of November and has been adopted almost in its entirety by the city council, and it will be inaugurated during the year 1902. The situation in Chicago is peculiar from many points of view, but particularly from the fact that the city government has never, since the fire, at least, had the revenue necessary to carry on its work. I find when I speak of Chicago finances with people in the East that it is the almost universal opinion that Chicago's revenue has disappeared, or large portions of it, into the pockets of her officials. This is however a mistaken opinion. "Boodling" in Chicago has not been more marked than in other cities. Our investigations prove that such revenue as has been received by the city has on the whole been well administered. Indeed it is surprising that the city officials could have done as well as they have, handicapped as they have been by the financial situation in which the city finds itself due to state legislation.

The complications between the city, the old town-system, which still continues in part, the county and and the state, are extraordinary. The tax levy in Chicago is made early in the year, by the city council. The valuations of property are made by the town assessors also early in the year. Later they go to the board of review, a county organization, and are rearranged by it, and then to a state organization, the board of equalization. It is the end of the year before the city really knows what its income is; meantime the expenses have already been incurred and the money spent. In 1900, for example, the appropriations were made upon a basis

of valuation of the previous year, which was about three hundred and forty-seven millions of dollars. At the end of the year it was found that the new board of assessors had reduced these valuations to two hundred and seventy-six millions. The city had, therefore, been making illegally expenditures all through that period.

The tax levy is voted in March, but the money is not collected until the following year. It then passes into the hands of the county collector, over whom the city officials have no control. As he is paid a commission on his collections and on the money deposited in the banks, it is for his interest to keep the funds in the banks as long as possible. Finally it is paid over to the city treasurer, who also is given a commission, out of which he pays all the expenses of his office. With these astonishing complications, the necessity for uniform accounting is very evident.

The city usually manages to squeeze out revenue enough to pay its wages and salaries, which are essential and immediate. But it has allowed its bills for supplies to run over into the ensuing year, and sometimes it is eighteen months or more before the bills are paid. Bills have passed through the courts and judgments have been taken against the city amounting to something over three million dollars. A tax-payer recently refused to pay his taxes, upon the ground that the total amount of the debt of the city of Chicago was in excess of the statutory limit (which is five per cent of the assessed valuation), and that he could not be compelled to pay the taxes. The case came before the same judge who had granted the judgment making the excess of debt, and he exempted the tax-payer.

Chicago, it thus appears, has no general fund of money against which appropriations are made, no

“working capital.” Appropriations are made against the future altogether, and do not represent cash at all.

It has been the custom to charge up in the appropriation bill, estimated items of “loss and cost” upon the collection of the tax (four and one-half per cent.). Each appropriation was thus increased by four and one-half per cent., which anticipated the loss and cost of the tax collections. Also during the course of the year, when the actual “loss and cost” of the previous year had been ascertained, it was charged (debit) to this same account. Now as the expenditures increased, there was a difference between this credit and this charge for “loss and cost” yearly. That is to say, there was a deficiency of the estimated deficiency. Under the statutes, all balances of appropriations must be carried at the end of the year into what is called the “general fund account,” a surplus account. So at the end of the year these “deficiencies of deficiencies” were carried into this general fund account and were looked upon as surplus, or as cash.

DR. HARTWELL: It has been intimated by several gentlemen in the course of this afternoon’s discussion that the economic man and the fiscal man, as bodied forth in the books, are far to seek and that they be few who find them. Judging from statistics as they are made and used generally, the statistics man belongs in the same category with the economic and the fiscal man. In discussing plans and devising measures to secure reasonable uniformity in municipal accounting and statistics, we do well to recognize the standards of idealistic seekers after scientific truth; but we should not lose sight of the fact that in practice we shall have to depend for the most part upon other kinds of men. Professor

Falkner's suggestion that an attempt to cover the whole or even the larger part of the field of municipal statistics would prove futile at the present time seems to me to be apposite and sound.

It is my belief that municipal statistics, like charity, should begin at home; that they should relate to the objects and needs of local administration and be prepared with the primary purpose of enlightening a local public opinion and of serving local authorities as the basis for intelligent action. Know thyself is an injunction which applies as well to cities as to individuals. So long as a city does not know itself it cannot know other cities, or compare itself with them or profit largely by their experience. The sooner our leading cities are led to insist upon having simple and intelligible financial and statistical reports furnished by their own servants for home use, the sooner will the public and official mind become responsive to the demands of such bodies as this for the adoption of more modern and scientific methods of book-keeping and house-keeping by all cities; and the sooner will it become possible for the student of municipal affairs and for state and national officials and bureaus to secure from city officials and publications such information as is usually unattainable now.

I am not at all disposed to underrate the importance of concerted action in this matter on the part of representative associations of scientific and professional men; but I would emphasize the fact that our efforts are likely to prove abortive unless the present undeveloped state of the art of municipal house-keeping and book-keeping, in most cities, is borne in mind. Our recommendations should be comparatively few and simple and capable of being easily carried out, lest we repel busy

and preoccupied officials whose cooperation is requisite for the success of the measures we have in mind.

The results of the most notable attempt hitherto made to report annually upon the scope and cost of municipal administrations in the United States bear upon the question before us. I refer to three series of comparative tables entitled "Statistics of Cities," which have been published by the United States Department of Labor for the years 1898-1900 inclusive, in compliance with an act of Congress passed in the year 1898. There is warrant for the assertion that the act was passed in the confident expectation that the statistics desired could be compiled without great difficulty from such reports as are regularly given to the public by city boards and officials. The experience of the commissioner of labor has proved the groundlessness of that expectation. Commissioner Wright has found municipal reports as a class so confused and misleading that he has been obliged to go behind the returns and resort to the expensive expedient of gathering his material at first hand by means of special agents.

Mr. Baker alluded in his report to the committee of the National Municipal League on uniform municipal accounting and statistics. That committee, of which Mr. Baker, Mr. Chase and others present are members, has been at work for nearly a year. On behalf of the committee which has been in session this morning here in Washington, I wish to express our appreciation of the courtesy of your president in inviting us to take part in your deliberations. At a meeting of the league in May last, our committee reported a provisional set of schedules designed to facilitate the rendering of uniform financial reports by the cities of a given state to a central state board,—our problem being to work out the details

of a practicable scheme to effectuate certain general recommendations of the league's "Municipal Programme." Mr. Hangar who has charge of the investigation of the Department of Labor in respect to city statistics declares that if cities of 30,000 inhabitants should adopt the schedules just mentioned, the labor of collecting material for the department's yearly bulletin would be reduced 90 per cent.

This is not the time or place for a detailed statement of the views or plans of our committee, but I may say in passing that they agree substantially with those of your own committee. From our point of view financial statistics are of primary importance at this juncture. We recognize the impossibility of securing the speedy or general adoption of reform methods of book-keeping, and shall content ourselves with proposing forms of return with regard to receipts and expenditures, resources and liabilities, debt, loans, sinking-fund, etc., that may readily be filled out by any comptroller or auditor, without disturbance to his customary methods of procedure. If fiscal officers can be induced to make supplementary reports in accordance with a consistent plan it will be far easier than at present to establish a base line to serve in attempts to map out and cultivate other fields of municipal statistics.

The domain of American municipal statistics, using the term in its scientific sense, presents such wide areas of unsettled not to say unexplored territory that, as I have already intimated, it seems a wiser policy to postpone ambitious schemes of expansion until our home fields have been subjected to a more intensive and productive system of cultivation than is yet common. There is need of caution and self-restraint in instituting comparisons between cities even in such familiar fields as population statistics and the movement of

population. Owing to loose methods employed in estimating population in intercensal years even the crude death rates of many leading American cities are open to grave suspicion, and per capita estimates of every description are full of pitfalls. For instance in a carefully prepared paper on certain classes of expenditure by twenty-nine principal cities read in 1898 before the American Society of Municipal Improvements, the population of Baltimore according to an "official estimate" was set at the remarkably round number of 500,000. A few months later the Charities Review published a paper whose writer based certain per capita comparisons relating to out-door relief in Baltimore and other cities upon another "official estimate" of 625,270 as the population of Baltimore in the year 1898—while the official death-rates of the city for the same year were based on an estimated population of 541,000. I asked the health officer how he obtained that figure. He replied that he had asked the two leading Baltimore newspapers "independently on the same day" for their estimates of the city's population. "One said 540,000, the other 541,000, and I took 541,000." In June, 1900, the enumerators of the Twelfth Census could find only 508,957 people in Baltimore. In Boston, where I live, it is impossible to show the monthly movement of population because of our antiquated methods of recording births and marriages. Every spring there is a round-up of babies which resembles the method employed by the average town clerk in the rural districts in gathering his birth statistics. To be sure there is a small fee offered in Boston to stimulate promptitude on the part of physicians in registering births. But the allowance of \$0.25 for each certificate of birth filed with the city registrar has not proved altogether satisfactory.

It has been known to work even badly. A few years ago it was found that a certain doctor had certified to the birth of upwards of eighty infants that never existed. Yet the names of those ink engendered babes could not be expunged legally from the records, and when we went to the state house and asked to have the law amended the legislators laughed at it.

Such facts may serve to indicate that the immediate prospects for gathering strictly comparable data throughout the wide range of activities common to cities is not brilliant, to say the least.

CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF: My experience has been that the "reformer" to whom Dr. Falkner has referred, is anything but aemic or dilettante or ineffective. As a rule, those I have known are full-blooded, persistent, (which is of the essence of practicality) and, in the long run, effective. Perhaps he is impractical because he does not know when he is beaten or when to "let up." The economic man and the statistical man we have been told this afternoon are figments of imagination. So is the reformer of the type described by Dr. Falkner.

The subject of uniform municipal accounts is one of prime importance as has been pointed out at this session; and obviously so. We hear much of publicity of accounts for municipalities and for quasi-public corporations, and rightly so; but publicity without uniformity will aid but little in a study and comprehension of vexed municipal problems.

Although apparently a dry topic and one of narrow application, uniform municipal accounting is one of wide application and of extensive influence. Mr. Chase will bear me out when I maintain that following uniform

municipal accounts, as a natural sequence, will come inevitably an improved system of municipal taxation and assessment, and an improvement in the relations of city, county and state. In fact there will be substantial betterment all along the line. The experience of Chicago amply verifies this, and we find in Ohio that the movements for uniform accounting and tax reforms have joined hands and both are being jointly urged by the Ohio state board of commerce.

MR. BAKER: I would like to say in addition that the subject is a very broad, complex, and difficult one; and a satisfactory solution, if any solution be reached, can be obtained only by the assistance of all who are interested in the subject and have given it earnest attention. Therefore, in behalf of this Association, and of various committees deeply interested and hard at work upon the problem, I wish to express the hope that suggestions will be freely made to the several committees, and that your coöperation will be given to the work, and particularly that, coming as you do from so many municipalities throughout the country, you will attempt to bring this important matter to the attention of the proper officials of your own cities. I should like to suggest that those who are willing to go into the matter should send suggestions to the director of the census regarding the collection of municipal statistics, and should also give careful consideration to the municipal inquiries already being made by the United States Department of Labor for cities of thirty thousand and upwards, and decide whether it is wise to bring personal influence upon your representatives in Congress for the extension of the latter work to include smaller municipalities.

THE ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY.

BY EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN.

The problem with which we have to deal is the reason of those great changes in human thought and human life which form the conditions of progress. The solution that has been suggested is that to economic causes must be traced, in last instance, those transformations in the structure of society which themselves condition the relations of social classes and the various manifestations of social life. This doctrine is often called "historical materialism" or the "materialistic interpretation of history". Such terms are, however, lacking in precision; for, if by "materialism" is meant the tracing of all changes to material causes, the biological view of history is also materialistic. Again, the theory which ascribes all changes in society to the influence of climate or to the character of the fauna and flora is materialistic, and yet has little in common with the doctrine here discussed. The theory now under consideration is not only materialistic but also economic in character; and the better phrase is not the "materialistic interpretation" but the "economic interpretation" is history.

In another place¹ an attempt has been made to expound somewhat more fully the theory as well as to trace its origin and its connection with earlier doctrines. In still another article² the developments of the theory and its applications to the particular facts of history have been studied in some detail. What interests us here is

¹ *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 16, no. 4.

² *Ibid.*, vol. 17, no. 1.

a consideration of the theory itself as a philosophical doctrine. We may best approach the problem from an examination of the objections that have been advanced.

Some of these objections are indeed sound; but others possess only a partial validity. Let us consider the latter class first.

Among these criticisms the following are most frequently encountered: First, that the theory of economic interpretation is a fatalistic theory; second, that it rests on the assumption of historical laws, the very existence of which is open to question; third, that it is socialistic; fourth, that it neglects the ethical and spiritual forces of history; fifth, that it leads to absurd exaggerations.¹

Let us consider first the objection that the doctrine is fatalistic, opposed to the theory of free will, and overlooking the importance of great men in history. It is obvious that this is not the place to enter into a general philosophical discussion of determinism. For our purpose it is sufficient to state that if by freedom of the will we simply mean the power to decide as to an action, there is no necessary clash with the doctrine of economic or social interpretation. Every man has will power, and may decide to act or to refrain from acting, thus showing that he is in this sense a free agent. But whether he decides in the one way or the other, there are certain causes operative within the organism which are responsible for the decision. The function of science is to ascertain what these causes are. All we know thus far is that every man is what he is because of the influences of environment, past or present. We need not here discuss the biological disputes between the

¹ These objections are considered more fully in the *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 2.

Weissmannist and the Neo-Lamarkian; for whether we believe with the one that the only factor in progress is the power of natural selection to transmit and strengthen congenital characteristics, or with the other that acquired characteristics are also inherited, we are dealing in each case with the operation of some form of past environment. Neither Weissmannists nor Neo-Lamarkians deny the obvious fact of the influence of present environment on the individual as such.

Since, therefore, man, like everything else, is what he is because of his environment, past and present—that is, the environment of his ancestors as well as of himself—it is clear that if we knew all the facts of his past and present environment we should be in a much better position to foretell with some degree of precision the actions of every human being. Although a man is free to steal or not to steal, we are even now safe in predicting that under ordinary circumstances an honest man will not steal. His congenital and acquired characteristics are such that under certain conditions he will always elect a certain course of action. In the case of physical environment, the matter is very simple. While an Eskimo may be perfectly free to go naked, it is not a violent stretch of the fancy to assume that no sane Eskimo will do so as long as he remains in the Arctic regions. When we leave the physical and come to the social environment, as we necessarily do in discussing the doctrine of economic interpretation, the essence of the matter is not much changed.

The theory of social environment, reduced to its simplest elements, means that even though the individual be morally and intellectually free to choose his own action, the range of his choices will be largely influenced

by the circumstances, traditions, manners and customs of the society about him. The negation of the theory of social environment excludes the very conception of law in the moral disciplines. It would render impossible the existence of statistics, jurisprudence, economics, politics, sociology or even ethics. Social law means that amid the myriad decision of the presumable free-agents that compose a given community, there can be discovered a certain general tendency or uniformity of action, deviation from which is so slight as not to impair the essential validity of the general statement. The controlling considerations are always the social considerations. The choices that influence progress are the social choices—*i.e.*, the choices of the majority.

This is the reason why the great man theory of history has well nigh disappeared. No one, indeed, denies the value of great men, or the vital importance of what Matthew Arnold calls the remnant. Without the winged thoughts and the decisive actions of the great leaders, the progress of the world would doubtless have been considerably retarded. But few now overlook the essential dependence of the great man upon the wider social environment amid which he has developed. While his appearance at a particular moment is indeed a matter of chance, the great man influences society only when society is ready for him. If society is not ready for him he is called not a great man, but a visionary or a failure. Just as in animal life the freak or sport works through natural selection as fixed by the environment, so in human life the great man can permanently succeed only if the social environment is ripe. Biologists tell us that variation in the species is the cause of all progress, but that the extreme limit of successful variation from the parent type in any one case does not exceed a small per-

centage. The great man represents the extreme limit of successful variation in the human race. It is to him that progress seems to be largely due. But we must not forget that even here the great mass of his characteristics are those of the society about him, and that he is great because he expresses more successfully than others the real spirit of the age of which he is the supreme embodiment.

It is then an obviously incorrect statement of the problem to assert that the theory of economic interpretation, or the theory of social environment of which it is a part, is incompatible with the doctrine of free will. If by determinism we erroneously mean moral fatalism, determinism is not involved at all. The theory of social environment in no way implies fatalism. Social arrangements are human arrangements, and human beings are, in the sense indicated, free to form decisions and to make social choices. But they will invariably be guided in their decisions by the sum of ideas and expressions which have been transmitted to them through inheritance and environment. So far as great men influence the march of progress, they can do so only to the extent that they can induce the community to accept these new ideas as something in harmony with its surroundings and its aspirations. Given a certain set of conditions, the great mass of the community will decide to act in a certain way. Social law rests on the observation that men will choose a course of action in harmony with what they conceive to be their welfare, and on the further observation that the very idea of an organized community implies that a majority will be found to entertain common ideas of what is their welfare. If the conditions change the common ideas will change with them. The conditions, so far as they are

social in character, are indeed created by men and may be altered by men, so that in last resort, there is nothing fatalistic about progress. But it is after all the conditions, which because of their direct action or reaction on individuals, are at any given moment responsible for the general current of social thought.

To the extent, then, that the theory of economic interpretation is simply a part of the general doctrine of social environment the contention that it necessarily leads to an unreasoning fatalism is baseless. Men are the product of history, but history is made by men.

¶The second objection to the theory under discussion is closely related to the first. The economic interpretation of history presupposes that there are historical laws. Yet this is objected to by some. Those, however, who deny the existence of historical laws are evidently laboring under a misapprehension. What they mean is, obviously, that the statement of some particular historical law is false, or that the causes of some definite historical occurrence are so complex and so obscure that it is well nigh impossible to frame a general explanation. But they cannot mean that historical laws do not exist. The mere fact that we have not discovered a law does not prove that there is none.

For what is meant by a scientific law? A law is an explanatory statement of the actual relations between facts. The processes of human thought enable us to classify the likenesses and differences in the myriad phenomena of life, and to subsume the unity underlying these differences. This unity makes itself known to us under the guise of a causal relation of one phenomenon to another. When we have succeeded in ascertaining the relation of cause and effect, we are able to frame the law. But our inability to discover the law does not

invalidate the fact of its existence. The relations between the stars existed from the beginning of time; the discovery of the law which enables us to explain these relations is a result of scientific progress.

What is true of the exact sciences is equally true of the social sciences, with the difference that social sciences are immeasurably more complex because of the greater difficulty in isolating the phenomena to be investigated, and in repeating the experiments. But to deny the existence of social laws, for instance, simply because some particular alleged laws may be convicted of unreality would be to repeat the errors formerly committed by some of the extremists among the historical economists and not yet so infrequent as they ought to be. Obedience to law does not mean that the law causes the phenomenon to happen—for that is absurd—but simply that the law gives an explanation of the occurrence.

History, however, is the record of the actions of men ¹ in society. But if each phase of social activity constitutes the material for a separate science, with its array of scientific laws, the whole of social activity, which in its ceaseless transformation forms the warp and woof of history, must equally be subject to law. To deny the existence of historical laws is virtually to maintain that there is to be found in human life no such thing as cause and effect.

The third objection to the doctrine is its alleged socialistic character. To this it may be replied that if the theory is true, it is utterly immaterial to what conclusion it leads. To refuse to accept a scientific law because some of its corollaries are distasteful to us is to betray a lamentable incapacity to grasp the elementary conditions of scientific progress. If the law is true, we

must make our views conform to the law, not attempt to mould the law to our views.

Fortunately, however, we are not reduced to any such alternative. For notwithstanding the ordinary opinion to the contrary, there is nothing in common between the economic interpretation of history and the doctrine of socialism, except the accidental fact that the originator of both theories happened to be the same man. Karl Marx founded "scientific socialism", if by that curious phrase we mean his theory of surplus value and the conclusions therefrom. Karl Marx also originated the economic interpretation of history, and thought that his own version of this interpretation would prove to be a bulwark of his socialistic theory.

It is plain, however, that the two things have nothing to do with each other. We might agree that economic factors primarily influence progress, we might conclude that social forces rather than individual whim, at bottom, make history, we might even accept the existence of class struggles; but none of these admissions would necessarily lead to any semblance of socialism.

Socialism is a theory of what ought to be; historical materialism is a theory of what has been. The one is teleological, the other is descriptive. The one is a speculative ideal; the other is a canon of interpretation. It is impossible to see any necessary connection between such divergent conceptions. We must distinguish between the principle of economic interpretation in general, and some particular application of the principle. We might agree with the general doctrine and yet refuse to accept the one-sided ideals of the non-socialist, Loria; we might agree with the general doctrine, and yet refuse to accept the equally one-sided ideals of the socialist, Marx. Even if every one of Marx's economic theories

was entirely false, this fact alone would not in any degree invalidate the general doctrine of economic interpretation. It is perfectly possible to be the staunchest individualist and at the same time an ardent advocate of the doctrine of economic interpretation. In fact the writers who are to-day making the most successful application of economic interpretation are not socialists at all. Socialism and "historical materialism" are, at bottom, entirely independent conceptions.

¶The fourth objection is that the theory of economic interpretation neglects the ethical and spiritual forces of history. This seems more formidable, and it must be confessed that the attempts thus far made by the "historical materialists" to meet the objection have not been attended with much success. On closer inspection, however, some parts of this criticism turn out to be less weighty than has often been supposed. For what, after all, is the realm of ethical and spiritual forces? To answer this question it is necessary to distinguish between the existence of the moral law and its genesis. In another place an attempt has been made to show that there is much reason to believe that from the historical point of view all individual ethics may be considered to be the outgrowth of social ethics. Conscience itself, or the ability to distinguish between good and bad, would then be the historical product of social forces. While the origin of the moral sense is thus to be explained, it is nevertheless equally clear that once developed it leads an existence by itself. The categorical imperative is an undoubted fact of human life. The moral conscience exerts so profound an influence on the individual because it is the crystallization of centuries of social influences. So slow, however, has been the accumulating force of these influences, that the indi-

vidual is utterly oblivious of its social origin and importance. It would, therefore, be absurd to deny that individual men, like masses of men, are moved by ethical considerations.

What is generally forgotten, however, is not only that the content of the conception of morality is a social product, but that amid all the complex social conditions the economic factors are often of chief significance, and that the influence of pure ethical or religious idealism can make itself felt only within the limitations of existing economic conditions. Slavery, for instance, was not considered wrong by the great Greek moralists, whose ethical views on many other topics were at least on a plane with those of modern times. In the same way the English colonists who at home would have scouted the very idea of slavery soon became in the Southern States of America the most ardent and sincere advocates of the system; even the clergymen of the South honestly refused to consider slavery a sin. Had the Northern and Western States been subjected to the same climatic and economic conditions, there is little doubt that, so far at least as they could keep themselves shut off from contact with the more advanced industrial civilization of Europe, they would have completely shared the moral views of their Southern brethren. Men are what conditions make them; and ethical ideals are not exempt from the same inexorable law of environment.

To the ethical teachers of the middle ages feudal rights did not seem to be wrongs. The hardy pioneer of New England needed a different set of virtues from those which their successors in a softer age have acquired; the attempt to subdue the Indian by love, charity and non-resistance would have meant not so

much the disappearance of evil, as the disappearance of the colonists. The moral ideal of a frontier society is as legitimate from the point of view of their needs as the very different ideal of a later stage of society. The virtue of hospitality is far more important in the pastoral stage than in the industrial. The ethical relation of master to workmen under the factory system is not the same as under the guild system. The idea of honor and of the necessity of duelling as a satisfaction for its violation is peculiar to an aristocratic or military class; with the change of economic conditions which make for democracy and industrialism, the content of the conception changes.

The economic interpretation of history correctly understood thus does not in the least seek to deny or minimize the importance of ethical and spiritual forces in history. It only emphasizes the domain within which the ethical forces can at any particular time act with success. To sound the praises of mercy and love to a band of marauding savages would be futile; but when the old conditions of warfare are no longer really needed for self-defence, the moral teacher can do a great work in introducing more civilized practices, which shall be in harmony with the real needs of the new society. It is always on the border line of the transition from the old social necessity to the new social convenience that the ethical reformer makes his influence felt. With the perpetual change in human conditions, there is always some kind of a border line, and thus always the need of the moral teacher, to point out the higher ideal and the path of progress. Unless the social conditions, however, are ripe for the change, the demand of the ethical reformer will be the voice crying out in the

wilderness. Only if the conditions are ripe will the reform be effected.

The moral ideals are thus continually in the forefront of the contest for progress. The ethical teacher is the scout and the vanguard of society; but he will be followed only if he enjoys the confidence of the people, and the real battle will be fought by the main body of social forces, amid which the economic conditions are in last resort so often decisive. There is a moral growth in society, as well as in the individual. The more civilized the society, the more ethical its mode of life. But to become more civilized, to permit the moral ideals to percolate through continually lower strata of the population, we must have an economic basis to render it possible. With every improvement in the material condition of the great mass of the population there will be a great opportunity for the unfolding of a higher moral life, but not until the economic conditions of society become ideal will the ethical development of the individual have a free field for limitless progress. Only then will it be possible to neglect the economic factor, which may henceforward be considered as a constant; only then will the economic interpretation of history become a matter for archaeologists rather than for historians.

Moral forces indeed influence human society no less than the legal and political forces influence it. But just as the legal system like the political system is very considerably influenced by the economic conditions, so the particular ethical system or code of morality has been at any given period very largely an outgrowth of the social and especially of the economic life. If by materialism we mean a negation of the tremendous power of spiritual forces in humanity, the materialistic conception of history is

undoubtedly defective. But if by the economic interpretation of history we mean—what alone we should mean—that the ethical forces themselves are essentially social in their origin and content, and largely conditioned in their actual sphere of operation by the economic relations of society, there is no real antagonism between the economic and the ethical life. The economic conception of history, properly interpreted, does not neglect the spiritual forces in history; it seeks only to point out the terms on which the spiritual life has hitherto been able to find its fullest fruition.

✓ The fifth objection to the doctrine is that it involves absurd exaggerations. We shall not stop in this place to consider some of the extreme applications of the theory, for even though they are quite false, they would not necessarily invalidate the doctrine itself. We must distinguish here, as in every other domain of human inquiry, between the use and the abuse of a principle. The difference between the scientist and the fanatic is that one points the limitations of a principle, where the other recognizes none. To make any science or a theory responsible for the vagaries of its over-enthusiastic advocates would soon result in a discrediting of science itself; wise men do not judge a race by its least fortunate members; fair-minded critics do not estimate the value of a doctrine by its excrescences.

What then shall we say of the doctrine of economic interpretation? That its authors originally claimed too much for it or at least framed the doctrine so as to give rise to misconception, is undoubtedly true. That some of its advocates have gone entirely too far is equally certain. It is above all sure that the choice of the term "historical materialism" is unfortunate. The materialistic view of history, like the utilitarian theory

of morals, has had to suffer more because of its name than because of its essence. The one is as little sordid as the other.

✓ The economic interpretation of history, correctly understood, does not claim that every phenomenon of human life in general, or of social life in particular, is to be explained on economic grounds. Few writers would trace the different manifestations of language or even of art primarily to economic conditions; still fewer would maintain that the various forms of pure science have more than a remote connection with social conditions in general. Man is what he is because of mental evolution, and even his physical wants are largely transformed and transmuted in the crucible of reasoning. The facts of mentality must be reckoned with.

The extreme advocates of "historical materialism," however, have sometimes seemed to claim that sociology must be based exclusively on economics, and that all social life is nothing but a reflex of the economic life. No such claim can be countenanced, for the obvious reason that economics deal only with one kind of social relations and that there are as many kinds of social relations as there are classes of social wants. The term "utility" which has been appropriated by the economist is not by any means peculiar to him. And the value which is the expression of this utility and which forms the subject matter of economics is only one subdivision of a far greater class. For all the world is continually rating objects and ideas according to their aesthetic or scientific or technical or moral or religious or jural or political or philosophical value without giving any thought to their economic value. So far as utility and value are social in character, that is depend upon the relation of man to man, they form the subject

matter of sociology. Economics deal with only one kind of social utilities or values and can therefore not explain all kinds of social utilities or values. The strands of human life are manifold and complex.

In one sense, then, there are as many methods of interpreting history as there are classes of activities or wants. There is not only an economic interpretation of history, but an ethical, an aesthetic, a political, a jural, a linguistic, a religious, a scientific interpretation of history. Every scholar can legitimately regard past events from a different standpoint.

Nevertheless, if we take a broad view of human development, there is still some justification for speaking of *the* economic interpretation of history as the important one, rather than of *an* economic interpretation among other equally valid explanations. Human life has thus far not been exempt from the inexorable law of nature, with its struggle for existence through natural selection. This struggle has assumed three forms. We find first the original struggle of group with group, which in modern times has become the contest of people with people, of nation with nation. Secondly, with the differentiation of population there came the rivalry of class with class, first of the sacerdotal with the military and the industrial class; later of the ionied interest with the landed interest; still later of the labor class with one or all of the capitalist classes. Thirdly, we find within each class the competition of the individuals to gain the mastery in the class. These three forms of conflict are in last resort all due to the pressure of life upon the means of subsistence; individual competition, class competition and race competition are all referable to the niggardliness of nature, to the inequality of human gifts, to the difference in social opportunity.

Civilization indeed consists in the attempt to minimize the evils, while conserving the benefits of this hitherto inevitable conflict between material resources and human desires. As long, however, as this conflict subsists, the primary explanation of human life must continue to be the economic explanation—the explanation of the adjustment of material resources to human desires. This adjustment may be modified by aesthetic, religious and moral—in short, by intellectual and spiritual forces; but in last resort it still remains an adjustment of life to the wherewithal of life.

When the ideal economic adjustment is ever reached—that is, when science will give us a complete mastery over means of production, ^{of the material world} when the growth of population will be held in check by the purposive activity of the social group, when progress in the individual and the race will be possible without any conflict except one for unselfish ends, and when the mass of the people will live as do to-day its noblest members—then, indeed, the economic conditions will fall into the background, and will be completely overshadowed by the other social factors of progress. But until that period is reached, the economic conditions of the social group and of the mass of individuals must continue to retain their ascendancy. From the beginning of social life up to the present the rise, the progress and the decay of nations have been largely due to changes in the economic relations, internal and external, of the social groups, even though the facility with which mankind has availed itself of this economic environment has been the product of intellectual forces. While the study of the economic factors alone will manifestly not suffice to enable us to explain all the myriad forms in which the human spirit has clothed itself since history began, it is none the less true

that as long as the body is not everywhere held in complete subjection to the soul, as long as the struggle for wealth does not everywhere give way to the struggle for virtue, the social structure and the fundamental relations between social classes will be largely shaped by these overmastering influences, which, whether we approve or deplore them, form so great a part of the content of life.

From the purely philosophical standpoint, it may be confessed that the theory, especially in its extreme form, is no longer tenable as the universal explanation of all human life. Whether any monistic interpretation of humanity is possible, is by no means yet decided. At all events none will be possible until that most difficult of all studies—sociology—succeeds in finally elaborating the laws of its existence and thus indicating its claim to be a real science. As a philosophical doctrine of universal validity, it must be conceded that the theory of “historical materialism” can no longer be successfully defended. But in the narrower sense of economic interpretation of history—in the sense, namely, that the economic factor has been of the utmost importance in history, and that the historical factor must be reckoned with, in economics, the theory has been and still is of considerable significance. ✓

Human activity is indeed the activity of sentient beings, so that the history of mankind is the history of mental development; but human life depends upon the relation between the individual and his environment. }
In the struggle that has thus far gone on between individuals and groups in their desire to make the best of their environment, the paramount consideration has necessarily been economic in character. The view of history which lays stress on these paramount considera- }

tions is what we call the economic interpretation of history. They are not the exclusive considerations, and in particular instances the action and reaction of social forces may give the decisive influence to non-economic factors. Taking man, however, for what he is and has thus far been, the underlying influence will, not always indeed, but very generally, be of this economic character. The economic interpretation of history, in its proper formulation does not exhaust the possibilities of life and progress; it does not explain all the niceties of human development; but it emphasizes the forces which have hitherto been chiefly instrumental in the rise and fall, in the prosperity and decadence, in the glory and failure, in the weal and woe of nations and peoples.

DISCUSSION.

ISAAC A. LOOS: The paper just read is an argument for the economic interpretation of history, regarded as an important aspect of the interpretation of history; it is an argument for reckoning with economic conditions in the interpretation of history. To this cautious and moderate defense of the economic interpretation of history there can be but little opposition.

The first objection I have to urge, in addition to those considered in the paper, to the phrase as it stands and understood in the sweeping sense commonly attached to it, is its one-sidedness. This objection corresponds somewhat closely to the fifth objection considered in the paper. The phrase as it stands and is commonly understood announces its exponent as the defender of a school, an "ism," an exaggeration. It implies that the economic interpretation is final, complete, and all sufficient, and that there is no other aspect to the explanation of history. This large claim Professor Seligman regards as unnecessary, or as necessary only in dealing with the genesis of social institutions. He admits in his answer to what he calls the fourth objection (that the theory of economic interpretation neglects the ethical and spiritual forces of history) that we must regard, for example, the moral sense, once developed as leading an existence by itself. If so, we must reckon with it, once it is developed, as an independent and self-existent factor in the interpretation of existing human life. The same thing must be said respecting intellect and will. When these are once developed, they lead an independent existence and constitute a superorganic or psychical factor as dis-

tinguished from the purely physical or the biological factors. The words economic and economics can be so used, indeed, they are very often so used, as to include all these elements separately considered, but at the cost of clear thinking, and even more to the detriment of clear expression.

There is a second objection to the phrase "the economic interpretation of history," namely, its ambiguity, its lack of precision. The word "economic" has too much to do for scientific precision ; it must stand now for subjective utility or rational selection, now for objective utility taking on the double aspect of natural selection under the influence of the pressure of environment on food supply and the food quest or the more direct and simple impact of climatic and geographical conditions. It will make immensely for clearness, therefore, if we speak of these factors as psychical, biological, and material or physical respectively. We can then adjourn the question whether the last be the ultimate ground of the others, and move forward in our attention to the evolution of the sociological factors. I should say then that as a cult or as the watchword of a school the economic interpretation of history is open to a third objection, in addition to the two noted above and in addition to those reviewed in the paper. It is likely to take the student of history and of the social sciences from the sphere of his proper inquiry concerning the course and meaning of history into the sphere of metaphysics. It is better to come to the problem of ultimate origins through the study of philosophy.

In the fourth place I desire to ask whether history be not itself interpretation. To this question the several schools of history may give varying answers, and I leave it to the historians who take part in this discussion to

furnish their own answers. Even if we define history as a record of events, have we dismissed our difficulty?

What now can we say constructively? In the first place it must be regretted that the social sciences have suffered and still do suffer seriously from an interminable war of words. For the most part those who defend the so-called "economic interpretation of history" investigate some of the same problems, and they investigate these problems by the same method as those students who are now calling themselves sociologists. Professor Keasbey, for example, under the title of "economic geography," has sketched his conception of the development of human society under the influence of economic motives.¹ He has taken the sociologists to task for giving insufficient attention to economic environment and for giving excessive emphasis to will or purpose where will and purpose do not exist. This is equivalent to saying that the sociologists are not doing their work efficiently when dealing with the genesis of society, or that they have not done their work finally.

It may be admitted, secondly, that we can get along without the word "sociology" if its work be done under other names by essentially the same methods and the same instrumentalities. But how the economists themselves can get away from their own terminology and from the large literature which has been wrought out by them in the past several hundred years is itself a serious problem. But it is a problem with which they are struggling successfully by swelling the ranks of the historians and doing some work, indeed much work, hitherto left undone by the historians. And yet we may ask

¹ Keasbey. *The institution of society*, *The International Monthly*, April, 1900; and two papers on *Economic geography*, in the *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 16, nos. 1 and 3.

is it possible, and if possible is it advisable after the terms economic and economics have developed such definite connotation (the word "economy" is open to freer construction) to designate an altogether new set of problems and to give an altogether new direction to the problems worked out by the older economists. Apart from the word "utility" there is no point of connection with the regular school; and utility serves only as a verbal bond, for the concepts attached to the word by the regular school of economists, the earlier and later classical, are primarily metaphysical, or psychical as the later classicists would prefer to say, while the historical or sociological school of economists deal with objective utility on a non-animistic or utilitarian basis.

The German historical school has made a place for the broader problems of the origin and relativity of economic forces and principles in their *Allgemeine Volkswirtschaftslehre*. But even in Germany the word "sociology" is making its way. Professor Simmel is giving a course of lectures in Berlin under the title *Sociologie*. By the side of the historical school or as embraced within it I would place the scientific socialists or the socialist school of economists, and the positive philosophy with its chapters on social physics, as forerunners of the larger and more general social science now commonly described as sociology, developed on the lines of the natural sciences. The recognition, in the paper just read, of the work of the scientific socialists, and of Karl Marx in particular, deserves further emphasis. Much can be said to show that the predecessors of Marx, (Godwin, Thompson, Saint Simon) were in search of a broader basis for the theory of society than either the Smithian or the Ricardian economics postulated. Add to the Marxian analysis of history the doc-

trine of liberty, and you have in socialism a political philosophy. Socialism need not necessarily be viewed and is not always viewed as a body of economic doctrine; it may also be regarded as a theory of society.

The historical economists and the socialists have been preparing the way for the science of sociology, but the problems stated by them must find their final solution in the larger treatment of society accorded to these problems by the sociologists.

The development of the science of sociology with its appropriate method cannot be ascribed exclusively to the evolution of the positive philosophy under the guiding genius of August Comte, as is so often done, except as that is merged with other currents of thought tending toward the same end, above all the naturalistic which took shape in the development of the natural sciences in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries giving us Lamarck and Darwin, and the revival of historical inquiry on empirical and Aristotelian lines giving us Savigny and Maine in jurisprudence and the study of institutions, and Roscher, Knies and Hildebrand in the historical school of economics, and Saint Simon, Robertus, Marx, and Lassalle in the socialist school of economics, and Ruskin in the art movement. The philosopher Hegel may from some points of view be regarded as the connecting link between the old metaphysics and the new sciences; his contemporary Goethe is an expression of it. Hegel's doctrine of development had as profound an influence on the German founders of historical criticism and scientific socialism as Malthus's theory of the pressure of population on food supply had on the Darwinian theory of natural selection which has played such an immense role in speculative biology. The importance of the sociologists, considered as research

students and as a school of thinkers, lies in their clear and frank recognition that all things are tied together at common points, that the universe must be reckoned as a cosmos, and that its evolution can be traced in a serial order of the sciences.

Professor Seligman in the closing paragraph of his paper treats the sociologists with great respect, but he puts them away up in the clouds ; and he seems to expect something from them by and by. We shall probably have to wait for some time for anything approaching final results from the work of the sociologists ; but it is worth while to concede to them the right of way to deal at first hand with the general problems of social origins, functions, organization and methods of amelioration. Giving attention to the last phase of the problems of society does not read them out of the list of the scientists, any more than engineers are read out by building bridges and sewers. The sociologists are the general interpreters of history ; the economists, publicists, politicists, jurists, writers on ethics, and the critics of literature and the arts are its special interpreters. But the interpretation of history is not the entire work of the social scientists. They must address themselves even primarily to the current problems of the life now existing. This they must do in the light of history but not with sole reference to history as a source of light. The social sciences look to the present as well as to the past ; and in a measure also to the future. All sciences do. Prediction, not prophecy, is the test of applied sciences. The economic interpreters of history are co-workers with the sociologists ; they are keeping the attention of the sociologist to a consideration of the influence of environment and of resources, yet the sociologists are not limited to a consideration of one factor in

progress. It is their business to reckon with all the factors, the spiritual and moral forces as well as the material or physical. But the cardinal importance of the last must never be forgotten.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY: The economic interpretation or explanation of history as usually practiced is an effort to find some economic factor in each series of historical events that will explain them,—tell why they occurred. There are two objections to this practice so serious as to call for its condemnation by historians. The first of these objections is one of method, a theoretical objection. The economic interpretation of history arbitrarily and unjustifiably places one group of historical phenomena in a position fundamental to the others, before investigating all the facts to see whether they should really be so placed.

The mere historian, the plain scientific student of the past, when he enters upon the investigation of any period or aspect of history has a two-fold task before him; first to find out all the facts, and secondly to arrange these facts according to their own nature, to put those together which prove to belong together. That is to say he must go where his facts take him, he must follow his facts not lead them. If they group themselves in such a way as to explain the series of occurrences, so much the better; but he must not impose an explanation upon them. If it should prove in any case that the economic phenomena are the ones that explain the others, well and good, but it may also prove that it is the legal phenomena, or the political or the moral, or the facts of language. The historian has no way of telling what the explanation is beforehand. He must wait till he has arranged his facts and then see which are those that interpret the others. That is to say his method is objective, inductive,

impersonal, *a posteriori*. He knows of no interpretation of history except that which history gives of itself.

The economic interpretation of history, on the other hand, as usually understood and applied, seeks first of all for some economic phenomenon or condition which may explain or interpret the events under consideration. When found this is accepted, approved and utilized for purposes of explanation, *because* it is economic in character. That is to say the method is subjective, arbitrary, *a priori*. For instance, suppose one is confronted by the historical problem of the growth of two separate nationalities in the Iberian peninsula, Spain and Portugal. The historian would proceed to gather all the facts bearing on the history of those two countries, arrange these, and strive to discover from them what are the reasons for the separateness of the two states. An advocate of the economic interpretation of history was struck by the fact that the amount and character of the rainfall of the two countries is quite different, seized upon this as being an adequate explanation, and has advanced it as the solution of the problem, because it is an economic explanation. He may or may not be right, but the method by which he has reached his result is evidently quite different from that of the historian.

Another instance may be found in Professor Thorold Rogers's effort to explain the causes of the Peasant's Revolt of 1381. He was so convinced that the cause for the outbreak was economic in its nature that he seized upon the only fact of that kind which suggested itself to him as adequate, and attributed the revolt to the reintroduction by the landlords of the old labor services. When the matter was properly and historically investigated it was found that no such process had taken place

and Professor Rogers's generalization in this as in so many other points has been entirely discredited. He approached an historical question in the spirit of an economist and failed accordingly.

We need go no further back than Professor Seligman's paper read this evening to find an instance of the difference in the two methods. He declares that the task of the interpretation of history is the discovery of the reason for human progress. But the historian does not feel himself to be especially interested in investigating the condition of progress. He is engaged simply in studying the history of the past. Sometimes it is progress, sometimes it is decadence; more often it is a condition of things in which some phenomena are those of progress, others those of decay; most often of all it is a condition of things where the question whether the tendencies of the time are those of progress or decay, is purely a question of modern, individual opinion.

No, the two methods are irreconcilable. The scientific historian cannot adopt the economic interpretation of history, because it seems to him fallacious and unscientific, and therefore unjustifiable.

Secondly, there is a practical objection to this process. The time is not ripe for the economic or any other interpretation of history. There is too much to be done in finding out what actually has been to spend time in seeking for its explanation. There are great masses of manuscript material lying unprinted and, therefore, unavailable; there are enormous collections of source material for the study of history printed by governments and associations, and readily accessible, but unanalyzed and unutilized; there are vast numbers of monographs and special studies of individual points which have not yet been worked up into the body of systematized historical

knowledge. Whole subjects are still obscure to the last degree. Institutions which have lasted through centuries and affected the great majority of the people, we are still ignorant about, not only in their minute points, but in their very fundamentals. Mediæval serfdom is an institution which has been much dealt with by economists, and yet we have scarcely made a beginning of its study. The scholars who have been at work patiently investigating its phenomena have one after another borne testimony to the inadequacy and preliminary character of their labors. What do we know of the ordinary normal working of the greatest of all mediæval institutions, the church? We have studied it from a polemic point of view, either of criticism or defense, almost entirely. The great part it played in ordinary life during those centuries in which it was the strongest and most active and most enlightened institution in all society is still a sealed book to us. There are many aspects of the Reformation, and even of the French revolution, which have never yet been investigated. There are whole periods, as for instance the fifteenth century, which lies too late for the mediævalist and too early for the student of modern history, which are all but unknown. Historians have only just lately turned from an almost exclusive study of individuals to the study of institutions. They are only gradually extending their study so as to include not only political, legal, and ecclesiastical, but social and economic and many other kinds of facts as well.

History is so vast, varied, uncertain and difficult a field that it is no wonder that historians feel that the work lying to their hands is its investigation rather than its interpretation. What they want above all to do is to

reduce this chaotic world of the past to some kind of order.

No student of history can do much reading in the works of those who profess to give its economic interpretation without being half amused, half saddened at the kind of history they are trying to interpret. It is so vague, so mistaken, so filled with discredited and fanciful notions that if it were successfully interpreted it would be an interpretation not of the real history of the world but of some quite suppositious history. This, however, is the fault of the historians. They have not yet got their material into a shape in which it can be safely and profitably put into the hands of another group of scientists as raw material upon which to work.

The study of history now is like this continent was when our ancestors first came to it. Its forests needed to be cut off, its rivers bridged, its mines opened, its distances diminished by roads, railroads and canals. The world of history likewise is not yet ready for its highest uses. There must be much done in the way of explanation, of cultivation, of familiarization, before we can reduce it all to law.

Therefore, for this second reason, the historian must oppose the habit of devoting time and effort to the economic interpretation of history. It is not the work which needs now to be done. However pleasant it would be to be the contemporaries of our great-grandchildren and join with them in the work of interpreting the history of the past, it is quite evidently our duty to devote our labor to preparing the material for their hands.

NOTE.

The paper of Professor A. Lawrence Lowell, on "Party legislation in parliament, congress and state legislatures," which was presented at the joint-meeting (see program above, page 45) will be printed in full in the Annual report of the American Historical Association, 1901.

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PREFACE.

The present study does not claim to be an addition to human knowledge. One familiar with the writings of travelers and ethnologists on the negroes of West Africa, is acquainted with most of the books out of which the first few chapters have been woven; one acquainted with the history and present condition of the race in the United States, has met most of the statements and arguments embodied in the later portions of the work. The merit of the book, in my judgment, is to be found rather in the fact that it brings together two lines of investigation which have hitherto been kept asunder. The rapidity with which an uncivilized people may be lifted, or may lift themselves, to the plane of an advanced civilization is still undetermined. To realize that many characteristics of the American Negro are part of his inheritance from Africa, and were bred into the race there through long generations, may perhaps strengthen the patience and forbearance of those who seek to expedite his progress. To realize that many faults often attributed to the debasing effects of American slavery, are faults which he shares with his African ancestors and contemporaries, may suggest a juster and more impartial view of the merits and demerits of the economic system which crumbled as a result of the Civil War. That a southern white man, the son of a slave holder, should have selected this subject for investigation, have pursued his work at a northern university, utilizing for the purpose a library, the nucleus of which in this field is a large

knowledge. Whole subjects are still obscure to the last degree. Institutions which have lasted through centuries and affected the great majority of the people, we are still ignorant about, not only in their minute points, but in their very fundamentals. Mediæval serfdom is an institution which has been much dealt with by economists, and yet we have scarcely made a beginning of its study. The scholars who have been at work patiently investigating its phenomena have one after another borne testimony to the inadequacy and preliminary character of their labors. What do we know of the ordinary normal working of the greatest of all mediæval institutions, the church? We have studied it from a polemic point of view, either of criticism or defense, almost entirely. The great part it played in ordinary life during those centuries in which it was the strongest and most active and most enlightened institution in all society is still a sealed book to us. There are many aspects of the Reformation, and even of the French revolution, which have never yet been investigated. There are whole periods, as for instance the fifteenth century, which lies too late for the mediævalist and too early for the student of modern history, which are all but unknown. Historians have only just lately turned from an almost exclusive study of individuals to the study of institutions. They are only gradually extending their study so as to include not only political, legal, and ecclesiastical, but social and economic and many other kinds of facts as well.

History is so vast, varied, uncertain and difficult a field that it is no wonder that historians feel that the work lying to their hands is its investigation rather than its interpretation. What they want above all to do is to

reduce this chaotic world of the past to some kind of order.

No student of history can do much reading in the works of those who profess to give its economic interpretation without being half amused, half saddened at the kind of history they are trying to interpret. It is so vague, so mistaken, so filled with discredited and fanciful notions that if it were successfully interpreted it would be an interpretation not of the real history of the world but of some quite suppositious history. This, however, is the fault of the historians. They have not yet got their material into a shape in which it can be safely and profitably put into the hands of another group of scientists as raw material upon which to work.

The study of history now is like this continent was when our ancestors first came to it. Its forests needed to be cut off, its rivers bridged, its mines opened, its distances diminished by roads, railroads and canals. The world of history likewise is not yet ready for its highest uses. There must be much done in the way of explanation, of cultivation, of familiarization, before we can reduce it all to law.

Therefore, for this second reason, the historian must oppose the habit of devoting time and effort to the economic interpretation of history. It is not the work which needs now to be done. However pleasant it would be to be the contemporaries of our great-grandchildren and join with them in the work of interpreting the history of the past, it is quite evidently our duty to devote our labor to preparing the material for their hands.

anti-slavery collection, and have reached results, the tendency of which seems to me in the main eirenic rather than controversial, is a noteworthy sign of the times, suggesting how both sections and both races are coming more and more to coöperation of effort and harmony of conclusions regarding our great problem. The work of Mr. Tillinghast has given me much light upon a question in which for years I have been interested, and I believe that many others of his readers will share my judgment.

WALTER F. WILLCOX.

Ithaca, New York.

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THE NEGRO IN AFRICA AND AMERICA.

INTRODUCTION.

It will serve to reveal both the author's point of view and the objects aimed at, if the reasons which led to the study herein presented are stated at the outset.

In a self-governing republic like ours, some homogeneity of citizenship is vital. By excluding the Chinese we have avoided one threatening phase of heterogeneity. But unfortunately no African exclusion act was passed in the days when such action might have delivered us from the black peril, consequently, the homogeneity of our national society, especially in one great section, is dangerously broken. Our nine millions of negroes to-day constitute an ethnic group, so distinct from the dominant race, that we are threatened with inability to assimilate them.

The problem before our country, therefore, is how to reduce the divergence in character between its white and black populations. Obviously the first step toward a solution, if one be possible, is to get a thorough understanding of Negro character, otherwise, we are but groping our way, liable at every step to costly blunders. There is only too much reason to fear that misconceptions in this direction have already led to serious errors in our policy toward the nation's "ward".

Now, character is a product of two fundamental factors, *i.e.*, heredity and environment. The endowment of each generation at birth is dictated by heredity, but all that it acquires subsequently is the gift of environment. Matured character, therefore, is a subtle compound of the two elements.

Through choice or control of environment, deliberate human agency may accomplish much toward influencing the ultimate compound. Of two negro infants, let one be brought up in the African jungle and the other amid the best American culture, and very divergent results would certainly follow. But men cannot manipulate heredity. From generation to generation this mysterious force operates in isolated independence, and we cannot touch it.

Yet heredity is not a fixed unchanging force. By slow and infinitesimal degrees it may be modified through selection, which tends to accumulate advantageous variations in offspring and to eliminate unfavorable ones. Inasmuch as the experience or attainments of one generation within its own life-time affect but slightly, if at all, the physiological germs, through which heredity is transmitted, nothing we can do of set purpose for the parent will decidedly improve the birth-endowment of the child. Its later inheritance through example and home training may be improved, and this is of immense significance. But that is another question. The point now being emphasized is, that heredity proper cannot be manipulated by purposive human devices. If it were open to us to exercise deliberate selection among our own kind, as stock-breeders do among brutes, then the case might be different. We might then modify hereditary force with rapidity, but, as it is, we must wait for Nature to do her work in her own infinitely conservative way. No ethnic group, with its inborn nature moulded for ages in an undisturbed environment, can be radically transformed within ten or twenty generations.

All of the considerations just cited have a deep significance in the problem that faces our country. They have, of course, become very familiar to us in some con-

nections, but they have never been properly recognized and applied in our efforts to comprehend the present character of American negroes.

United under our flag are two streams of racial heredity ; the one had its origin and development in the north temperate zone, the other in the torrid zone. Before meeting here, the one had evolved an hereditary endowment, delicately adjusted to the highest civilization recorded in history ; the other remained in benighted savagery. We have never for a moment dreamed that the nature of the Caucasian element in our population could be understood, if its long career in Europe were ignored. Infinite pains have been taken, therefore, to trace and interpret its history from the beginning. But what of the African ? How many of us have definite ideas regarding the conditions which moulded him through and through, long before we took him in hand ? How many of us have in mind accurate data, by which to distinguish hereditary survival from acquired character ? Yet, unless we can do this, we have no measure of his real progress under American tutelage, and therefore, no basis for estimating his probable future. We are left to deal with a compound, the proportion of whose elements we do not know.

To say that the Negro in Africa was a "savage" tells little, for there are many species of savage, and many degrees of savagery. The Indian is a savage, but he differs widely from the native of Africa. Each race has deeply implanted peculiarities of temperament and aptitude. A dismissal with the generic term "savage" does not serve the purpose. We might as well ignore all Teutonic history, previous to the landing of the Mayflower, and consider it sufficient to say that our European progenitors were "civilized."

But it may be questioned whether the African life of the Negro has been completely neglected. As a matter of fact, occasional notice has been taken of it, yet in a manner quite useless for modern purposes. In Philadelphia, as early as 1789, a little book was published by Anthony Benezet, entitled, "Some historical account of Guinea". In it one finds a compilation of facts regarding the natives of West Africa, but the author evinced a strong bias in his selection and grouping of these facts, it being his philanthropic desire to show that the negroes were a much higher people than those interested in the slave-trade represented them to be. A contrary bias is revealed by one Josiah Priest, who published at Albany, in 1844, a work with the title, "The origin and character of the Negro race." This sounds promising; but the fact that an entire chapter is devoted to proving that "the curse of Noah on the race of Ham, as a judicial act, is endorsed by the law of Moses,"¹ reveals its general spirit. Again, "The Negroes in Negro-land, etc," put forth in 1868, by Hinton R. Helper, as a protest against the pending proposition to enfranchise the freedmen, is simply a catalogue of verbatim quotations from works on Africa, regardless of the region our negroes came from, and selected with a view to prove them as low as possible. In his two volume work, "A history of the American Negro," Geo. W. Williams, himself a mulatto, discusses in an introductory part, the West African natives, but the execution is thoroughly unscientific; for example, his opening chapter relies almost solely upon scripture texts to prove the unity of human origin, no use being made of ethnological data. He hurries over this part superficially, giving attention principally to the race history in

¹ See p. 89, *et seq.*

America, and here he seems to have done conscientious work of permanent value.

This list, while not exhaustive, is thoroughly representative. We remain without such a knowledge of West African society as we need, in order to understand correctly our own negro population. We have been content to make occasional vague allusions to a former condition of savagery, straightway proceeding to seek explanations of negro nature and character in terms of American environment, chiefly that of slavery.

The institution of slavery has loomed so large on our horizon that it has completely overshadowed what went before it in African history. At every mention of negro inefficiency, improvidence, or immorality, it sufficed to recall slavery, and the characteristic was deemed explained. But it is time that we seek a truer conception of the forces that have made the American negro what he is.

To make a beginning in this direction has been the object of the investigation whose results are presented in the following chapters. The negro's heredity and environment, each helping to interpret the other, are studied as found in West Africa, then under American slavery, and finally during free citizenship in our Republic.

PART I.
THE NEGRO IN WEST AFRICA.

CHAPTER I.

WEST AFRICA.

The continent of Africa is a vast plateau. It has been compared to an "inverted plate" of irregular shape.¹ On almost every side the high lands approach the coast-line, then slope rapidly to the sea, sometimes by a gently terraced formation, sometimes by a succession of rugged escarpments. Regarding the continent as divided by parallel 4° north latitude, it is found that the continental plateau is thereby roughly marked off into two halves, of which the southern has an average elevation of from 3,000 to 3,500 feet, while the northern averages only about 1,300 feet. Hence it is that Africa, although considerably smaller than Asia in area, has nevertheless a larger volume of earth above sea-level. It is now becoming usual to designate the northern plateau, stretching from Cape Verde to the Red Sea, as the Sudan, which is again divided into West, Central, and East Sudan. These divisions correspond roughly with the Niger, the Chad, and the Nile basins respectively. We shall hereafter confine ourselves to West Sudan. Similarly, of the southern half of the continent only the western regions in more or less proximity to the Atlantic will call for attention. The portions thus defined are commonly given the general title of West Africa.

West Sudan lies within that vast bulge described by the western coast-line in sweeping around from the

¹ See Stanford's Compendium of geography, "Africa", pp. 5, 277.

Strait of Gibraltar to the Niger delta, with Cape Verde as its extreme westerly point. In this region the great table-land extends to within a short distance of the ocean, then breaks down in escarpments so sharp and rugged that they long were called by mariners, the Kong Mountains. The drainage to the west is principally by the Senegal and Gambia rivers, which reaching the sea by a series of rapids are not navigable to any distance from the coast. To the south, drainage for the most part is through numerous short coastal streams. The Niger, however, rising not far from the head-waters of the Senegal and Gambia, flows easterly toward the interior for hundreds of miles, gradually sweeps round in a great curve, and finally opens into the Gulf of Guinea, through many mouths. Its Delta was a chief market for negroes in the days of the slave-trade.

In southwestern Africa we find the same general characteristics of an inner plateau, extending to two hundred miles of the sea or less, and then sinking rapidly to the shore. Here, too, the drainage of the coast is through many small and rapid streams, while far inland behind these rises the majestic Congo, which at last bursts through the mountain fringe and reaches the ocean down a series of rapids. One other river should be mentioned, the Ogowe, which drains a large area lying between the Upper Congo and the ocean, and empties through a delta about four hundred miles north of the Congo month.

Our present interest in West Africa is confined to the region whence negroes were taken for the American slave-trade. There were three principal markets, about the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia, the Niger, and the Congo. These places were preferred because of the advantage they afforded for loading and unloading ships

and for reaching the interior. But the trade was not confined to them ; all along the coast between the Senegal and the Congo wherever cargo could possibly be landed, it went on briskly.¹ It will be convenient to divide this strip of coast some four thousand miles long into Upper Guinea, or all that portion lying between the Senegal and the Niger Delta, and Lower Guinea or that which stretches south from the coast-angle just east of the Niger Delta down to and including the lower Congo region.

The depth from the coast of this slave-yielding belt cannot be determined with any accuracy. The white traders merely touched the periphery of the continent, and neither knew nor cared about the geographical origin of the slaves. That many were brought from far inland cannot be doubted. Wadstrom tells us how the Moors and Mandingans of West Sudan captured many negroes from about the head waters of the Senegal and Gambia, and took them down stream to the coast.² Yet the demand for slaves in northern Africa was such as to take off most of the interior supply, so that relatively few are thought to have reached the distant West Coast. DeCardi learned, too, that a good many of the slaves found along the Lower Guinea coast had come from a distance inland.³ Still, there is every reason to believe that the overwhelming majority of those negroes, destined for the Atlantic trade, were secured from the more densely populated coast countries and fertile river valleys within two or three hundred miles of the sea. The kings of Ashanti and Dahomey,

¹ For an outline of the slave-trading region see "An historical account of Guinea", by Anthony Benezet, Philadelphia, 1771, pp. 6-7. Also "La traité de Negres", T. Clarkson, Paris, 1789, pp. 15-6.

² "Observations on the slave-trade", London, 1789, pp. 1-3.

³ Kingsley, "West African studies", London, 1889, p. 480.

living within one hundred miles of the sea, captured and sold whole tribes dwelling in contiguous territories, and their example was followed by numerous other petty kings all along the coast. It is known that before the close of the slave-trading era numerous districts along the West African coast had been practically depopulated. Hence the conclusion seems fairly justified that the vast majority of negroes exported from Africa to America came from a belt of coastal territory of immense length, but only a few hundred miles in width.

A brief mention of the countries usually given distinct names, and constituting the divisions of Upper and Lower Guinea, is necessary. First on the north is Senegambia, which includes the Senegal and Gambia valleys and all the intervening region. Next to the southeast lies Sierra Leone, which has long been under British control; and then the so-called republic of Liberia. At the southeast corner of Liberia is Cape Palmas, from which point the coast line takes an almost due easterly course, stretching over 1,200 miles till past the Niger Delta, when it turns southward toward the Cape of Good Hope. Until the more recent establishment of European spheres of influence, this long east and west strip was usually divided into the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, and the Slave Coast, names indicating the commercial article once distinctive of each region. That the Slave Coast exported more slaves, and that the trade was maintained there longer than anywhere else, was due to peculiar facilities it possessed for smuggling and for evading the cruisers sent to suppress the traffic.¹

Beyond the vertex of the angle that enclosed the Gulf of Guinea, Lower Guinea begins. First is the Cameroon

¹ See Reclus, "Universal geography", vol. xii, p. 256.

country, which includes Old and New Calabar, now under German administration; then French Congo, which takes in the country drained by the Gaboon and Ogowe rivers, and finally the Congo mouth and to the south of it, Angola.

The dominating climatic facts affecting this long seaboard are two: (1) it lies entirely within the torrid zone, extending from about 18 degrees north latitude to 10 degrees south latitude; and (2) it is subject to pronounced wet and dry seasons, the former so far predominating as to occupy nearly or quite three-quarters of the year. A tropical temperature therefore prevails continuously, and the humidity is excessive for the greater part of the year. Hence the terribly debilitating effect of the climate upon foreigners. All testimony on the subject abundantly supports the following statement of Du Chaillu:

"The climate of the west coast is sickly and exhausting, not because of its extreme heats, but because of its high *average* temperature and moisture, and the universal presence of malaria. Owing to the prevalence of a sea-breeze [during the day] the mercury is rarely higher than 90° in the shade; but then it rarely falls below 80° for nine months in the year, and even in the remaining three (the dry season) it never gets below 64°."¹

He mentions here, but does not emphasize, the element of humidity, which, combined with the high temperature, absolutely prohibits any considerable or prolonged

¹ "Explorations and adventures in equatorial Africa", by Paul Du Chaillu, New York, 1868, p. 370. By observations taken along the coast of Upper Guinea, Sir James E. Alexander found that at sea-level the barometer ranged between 29.50 and 29.85 for several months at a time when the height of the wet season was well passed. This gives a suggestion in numerical terms of air-pressure conditions, indicating great humidity. See his "Excursions in West Africa", London, 1840, pp. 116, 120, 149, 237. The annual rainfall throughout the West African coast reaches the height of from 100 to 150 inches—an enormous total compared with that of the great majority of countries. See Stanford's "Compendium", "Africa", p. 317.

exertion. This fact and its bearings will be discussed more fully later.

Some idea of the humidity that prevails during the wet season, is conveyed by this description of its effects. MacDonald says: "So great is the humidity particularly along the coast, that all descriptions of wearing apparel rapidly spoil, that which is not destroyed by the ravages of moth and cockroach being very quickly attacked by mildew and rust."¹ Miss Kingsley also repeatedly alludes to the great difficulty of escaping mildew, one of her emphatic expressions being, "that paradise for mould, West Africa".²

During the briefer dry seasons, however, when the Harmattan wind blows out of the far northern interior every night from sunset till after sunrise, the air becomes so extraordinarily dry as to be very trying to man and beast. Says MacDonald:

"This wind blows with a peculiar effect, drying and parching the skin and drying up the vegetation. A fine dust comes with it, and during its continuance its progress is marked by the creaking of Madeira chairs and sofas, the cracking of veneered articles, and the curling up of papers and the covers of books. . . . The air becomes hot and dry, with very cool mornings and evenings, which to the European are very beneficial, though not so to the natives. . . . Table salt, which at all ordinary times is in a semi-liquid state, owing to the extreme humidity of the air, becomes solid and hard, and glasses have been known to crack and fall to pieces as they stood upon the table."³

Similar effects are described in great detail by Robert Norris, who made a journey to the capital of Dahomey, in 1772.⁴ A little after sunrise each day the Harmattan ceases to blow, and there is a calm, during which the

¹ "The Gold Coast: past and present", pp. 65-6.

² *Travels in West Africa*", p. 33.

³ "The Gold Coast: past and present", pp. 64-5.

⁴ See his "Bossah Ahadee, King of Dahomey", London, 1789, pp. 114-15.

work the mines, situated in the higher country. By December, although none had died, yet "many of them had been at all times very ill," and they were soon removed, the experiment having proved a failure.¹ The importation of Chinamen and of West Indian negroes, themselves the descendants of West African natives, have both been tried by the Congo Free State, but in each case the "mortality has been terrible—more than the white mortality, which competent authorities put down, for the Congo, at 77 per cent., and the experiment has therefore failed."² The French, too, tried to work Annamese prisoners in the French Congo, but in spite of most careful treatment they died with appalling rapidity, one gang of a hundred losing seventy within a year.³

While it does not follow, as a matter of course, that because aliens are thus debilitated by the climate, the natives should be affected in like manner, yet the facts indicate that they too are injuriously influenced. Ellis is of opinion that the natives, while far less liable to the destructive diseases caused among aliens, are by no means exempt from them, and in any case are subject to the powerful influences against mental or physical energy and progress.⁴ It is by no means infrequent for whole villages to be swept away by disease.

The natural resources and productions of West Africa are rich and varied. As the entire region is within the torrid zone, its indigenous fauna and flora are altogether tropical. To these some few additions have been made by Europeans, but most attempts to introduce plants and

¹ Geo. MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 8-9.

² Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa", p. 657.

³ Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa", p. 657.

⁴ "Tshi-speaking people, etc.", pp. 5-7.

result is only to secure slightly cooler nights, with greater heat by day, from the sun's direct rays. In Lower Guinea there are greater altitudes, which sometimes have a night temperature as low as 55°, yet these are little inhabited by the scantily clothed natives, to whom such temperatures are disagreeable. They prefer the coast lands and river valleys, under truly tropical conditions. The desire for communication by water also leads them to prefer the lowlands. Thus, altitude does not decidedly modify climate.

West African climate has proved uniformly disastrous to the health and stamina of white men. Numerous are the mournful records that tell of its ravages among Europeans coming under its sway even for brief periods. Sir A. B. Ellis says :

“ Although the Government European officials, both civil and military, remain but for a period of twelve months at a time on the Gold Coast, and then proceed to the United Kingdom for six months to recruit their health, the death rate amongst them is abnormally high. . . There are no colonists, for no one could hope to live in such a climate. Unfortunately there are no statistics kept by the local government from which the death-rate might be computed. It came within my own experience, however, that in one year, and that a not unusually unhealthy one, in a town in which I resided, five deaths occurred and six persons had to be invalided to England out of a European population averaging twenty-four in number. And it must be remembered that in this population there were no aged or infirm persons, no women and no children—all were men in the prime of life.”¹

To the same effect are all available accounts of this region. In Lower Guinea where truly equatorial conditions prevail, it is even worse.

Nor do other alien races seem to enjoy any greater exemption than the Caucasian. In July, 1897, sixteen Chinese laborers were imported into the Gold Coast to

¹ “ The Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast ”, London, 1887, p. 5.

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West Africa abounds in smaller animals and insect life. Most of this is harmless, but there are some species that are serious enemies to the welfare of man. The tsetse fly in many localities renders it out of the question to keep horses. The mosquito, now charged with being the medium of disease-contagion in the case of dreaded tropical fevers, swarms along the coast. One other small pest, the driver ant, demands special attention. There are several species of these ants, which are held in

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The most valuable of all the trees is the "oil palm", which grows wild in all wooded localities. The nuts from this tree yield abundantly a rich oil, used by the natives for food and as an unguent. It has become a prime article of export, since the breaking up of the slave-trade and the threatened exhaustion of the ivory

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With regard to cultivated plants the advent of Europeans brought about the introduction at an early date of Indian corn and rice, while millet seems to have come in still earlier from Mohammedan sources. But these excellent cereals are grown chiefly in certain favorable parts of Upper Guinea, and are little known elsewhere. Says Barbot :

"It is positively asserted, that before the Portuguese came to this coast, the natives neither used, nor so much as knew of bread, made of any sort of corn : but only such as they made of yams and potatoes [manioc roots], and a few roots of trees."²

The West African population therefore, before the foreign invasion, was confined to a few vegetable roots for bread material, and had no cereal food. This is still the case with the immense majority, who rely upon familiar indigenous plants, either through ignorance of

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any other or inability to overcome inertia and repugnance to new things.

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What the potential mineral resources of West Africa may be, is unknown as yet. The only metals ever secured from the earth, and actually utilized by the natives have been gold, iron, and copper. Gold has long been supplied by the Gold Coast country, as its name implies, but is not found elsewhere on the West Coast. Superstitious scruples and ignorance of proper methods prevent the natives from mining for any metal, but they have long procured gold by washing out the sands and gravels of the streams. They pick up the ores of iron and copper where rich veins crop out along the broken escarpments of the great table-land.² The amount of

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metal secured under such circumstances and worked up by the extremely crude methods in vogue, is insignificant compared with what civilized men might obtain. There seems to be little doubt that even such metallurgy as is known among the true negroes of West Africa was acquired from northern or northeastern peoples of superior civilization, and not self-developed.¹

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CHAPTER II.

ETHNOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY.

The primal origin of the Negro still remains undetermined. But definite knowledge on this point is not essential to the present inquiry. We know with certainty, that the Negro race has inhabited Africa for thousands of years, and that its character during countless generations has been moulded by the influences and conditions peculiar to tropical Africa. It is known, also, that for centuries there has been a migration westward and south-westward across the continent. Superior peoples, developed in the drier, cooler climate of the northeast, and improved by mixture of blood with Semitic races invading Africa by way of Suez, have driven inferior tribes before them, across the continental interior. Brinton says :

“The general tendency of migration in central as in southern Africa, so far as it can be traced in historic times, has been westerly and southwesterly. The densest population has been near the Atlantic coast, as if the various tribes had been crowded to the impassible barrier of the ocean.”¹

This is why Keane declares that “the very worst sweepings of the Sudanese plateau”² seem to have gathered along the coast lands of West Africa, and Ellis speaks of the West Coast natives as “the dregs and off-scourings of Africa.”

This movement is going on to-day, and several tribes, themselves driven onward, have arrived on the West Coast within recent times, displacing slowly the existing occupants. For example, the Dahomey people were an

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heat is stifling, but about 11 o'clock a gentle breeze from the sea rises and lasts nearly till sunset, giving a slight relief during mid-day. This singular alternation of winds within each twenty-four hours, "goes on with the regularity of clock-work."¹

With regard to the wet and dry seasons, Du Chaillu explains: "Both the time and duration of the seasons depend upon the latitude and longitude of the place."² Whenever the sun is approaching the zenith with reference to a given country, the rainy season commences and continues till it is well past the zenith. As the sun is at the zenith only once each year over countries lying near either tropic, there is but one long rainy season, followed by a shorter dry season while the sun is farthest from the zenith. In the northerly portions of Upper Guinea, which are near to the tropic of Cancer, these conditions prevail. In strictly equatorial regions, however, the sun passes the zenith twice, so that there are two wet seasons, succeeded by brief dry seasons. Such is the case in Lower Guinea. A rainy period is always introduced by a number of terrific tornadoes, which appear suddenly with little warning and tear their way through the jungle, leaving death and destruction behind them. In a few days all the streams, which fall very low during the dry season, rise many feet, and often become very dangerous for navigation.

One factor influencing climatic conditions has not yet been mentioned, viz., altitude. This comes into play on the slope of the plateau. As the average height thus gained, however, in Upper Guinea is not 1,500 feet, the

¹ Reclus, "Universal geography", vol. xii, b. 216.

² *Op, cit.*, p. 366. As Du Chaillu will be frequently cited hereafter, it may be well to say that, while his reliability has been denied, recent exploration has shown that he was truthful and accurate.

result is only to secure slightly cooler nights, with greater heat by day, from the sun's direct rays. In Lower Guinea there are greater altitudes, which sometimes have a night temperature as low as 55°, yet these are little inhabited by the scantily clothed natives, to whom such temperatures are disagreeable. They prefer the coast lands and river valleys, under truly tropical conditions. The desire for communication by water also leads them to prefer the lowlands. Thus, altitude does not decidedly modify climate.

West African climate has proved uniformly disastrous to the health and stamina of white men. Numerous are the mournful records that tell of its ravages among Europeans coming under its sway even for brief periods. Sir A. B. Ellis says :

“ Although the Government European officials, both civil and military, remain but for a period of twelve months at a time on the Gold Coast, and then proceed to the United Kingdom for six months to recruit their health, the death rate amongst them is abnormally high. . . There are no colonists, for no one could hope to live in such a climate. Unfortunately there are no statistics kept by the local government from which the death-rate might be computed. It came within my own experience, however, that in one year, and that a not unusually unhealthy one, in a town in which I resided, five deaths occurred and six persons had to be invalided to England out of a European population averaging twenty-four in number. And it must be remembered that in this population there were no aged or infirm persons, no women and no children—all were men in the prime of life.”¹

To the same effect are all available accounts of this region. In Lower Guinea where truly equatorial conditions prevail, it is even worse.

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inland tribe at the time of the earlier visits of Europeans to West Africa, but by the conquest and wiping out of the Whydahs in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, they reached the sea. So, too, the Fans were in the interior when visited by Du Chaillu in 1856,¹ whereas Miss Kingsley found them, in 1893, wedging themselves rapidly down to the seaports.² She observes: "In this part of the world (Ogowe River), this great tribe is ousting the older inhabitants of the land." As this process has been going on for centuries, it is obvious that the negroes living along the western verge of the continent at any given period have not been the best specimens of their race. This is a fact of the first importance to us, because the slaves brought to our country were taken from these peoples.

Fixing our attention, now, upon this West African population, we find that ethnologists are generally agreed in dividing them into two slightly different types, the Bantu, inhabiting Lower Guinea, and the Sudanese of Upper Guinea. While Keane thinks that,

"The specialised Negro type, as depicted on the Egyptian monuments some thousands of years ago, has everywhere been maintained with striking uniformity . . . Nevertheless considerable differences are perceptible to the practised eye, and the contrasts are sufficiently marked to justify ethnologists in treating the Sudanese and the Bantus as two distinct subdivisions of the family." ³

The chief reliance for distinguishing the two is the fact that the Bantus all speak slightly differentiated dialects of a common language, whereas a great diversity of language exists among the Sudanese. Miss Kingsley says that the Bantus keep their villages cleaner than do the Sudanese; that they prefer to have their slaves

¹ "Equatorial Africa", *op. cit.*, p. 90.

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³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

live apart in separate quarters, whereas the latter do not, and that female gods predominate among the Bantus, while the Sudanese have male gods principally.¹

But one may read the accounts of West African native life and character, as seen from Senegambia to Angola, without discovering, unless forewarned by ethnological experts, any significant differences. It would seem, therefore, that the distinction above drawn, has little relevancy to the present investigation. That which the negroes throughout West Africa have in common, includes all important race characteristics, and it is a knowledge of these we are seeking.

^A short résumé of the principal tribal groups, with their geographical location from north to south, may be of assistance. In Senegambia dwell the Wolofs, with the kindred sub-groups of Jolofs and Serers, all speaking dialects of one tongue. They are reputed to be the blackest and most garrulous of negroes. The name "Wolof," indeed, signifies "talker." They are a tall, well-built people, and in Peschel's opinion, "the finest of negro races," physically speaking.²

South of the Gambia are found the Felups, "an utterly savage full-blood negro people", of whom there are many tribes. It was chiefly from these and the Wolofs that superior Moorish warriors once took hundreds of slaves and sold many at the mouths of the Senegal and Gambia rivers. Still farther to the south near Sierra Leone are the Timni, who occupy a considerable territory. The Sierra Leone and Liberians have been so changed by intermixture with miscellaneous freed slaves, that they must be excluded from consideration. Mention should be made, however, of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 422.

² See Peschel, "Races of man", pp. 464-5.

Krus, a tribe which has somehow kept itself tolerably pure. It furnishes still the best labor available anywhere on the coast, the "Kru-boys", as they are called, being relied upon at every sea-port for loading and unloading cargoes.¹

The remainder of Upper Guinea from Liberia eastward is inhabited by three prominent groups of tribes, ethnically related. These are the Tshi-speaking peoples, who occupy the Gold Coast region; the Ewe-speaking peoples, who occupy the western half of the Slave Coast; and, finally, the Yoruba-speaking tribes, including those of Benin, who inhabit the rest of the Slave-coast. Between the Tshis and the Ewes a remnant of the Ga-speaking people remain, but they have long been of minor importance. All are pure negro in type, and differ only in language, and in the fact that there has been a slightly greater development of organization among the Ewes and Yorubas. According to their traditions they all once belonged to a single group, and lived in an open grassy country to the northeast—evidently the inner Sudanese plateau.

The population of Lower Guinea is made up of numerous small tribes. Their names being unfamiliar we may here conveniently designate them by their geographical location, *e. g.*, the Bonny natives and the Cameroon natives. Prominent among the peoples of this equatorial region may be named the M'Pongwes, the Bakalai, and the recently arrived Fans. It will, however, seldom be necessary to mention particular tribes, because they are all nearly alike in character and manner of living.

No one general term will correctly describe the kind and degree of civilization found among the West Africans. They are not pastoral peoples, for they have no

¹ Kingsley, "West African studies", pp. 54-5.

cattle, sheep, or beasts of burden. In fact, they live under conditions which practically prohibit this mode of life. Only a small portion of their subsistence is derived from hunting, and they cannot be accounted good hunters. Those who live near the sea are good fishermen in their way, and even secure a surplus of fish, which they sell to inland peoples. Mainly, however, they depend for food upon agriculture of a very crude type, supplemented by the free gifts of nature. Yet they are not a fully settled people, cultivating the same lands for long periods, for they move their villages freely hither and thither, when impelled by superstition or temporary danger. They have private property in women, slaves, and movables, but not in land. While they trace kinship still through the female line, yet there are unmistakable signs of a change to kinship through the male line. In view of all these considerations, perhaps we can scarcely do better than to say, that they are in a confused state of transition from the stage of purely nomadic savagery to that of settled agriculture.

But though we may call this a transition stage, there is little evidence of any progress within historic times. Keane declares, indeed, that the West African negroes "have made no perceptible progress"¹ for thousands of years. They seem to have suffered an arrest of development, when driven from more favorable conditions in the north and east. At any rate their culture is on a very low level, and very unprogressive. They have no letters, art, or science; their industries are confined to very elementary agriculture, fishing, a little hunting, and some simple handicrafts. Cannibalism formerly prevailed almost everywhere, but has largely

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

disappeared, especially in regions under European influence. Human sacrifice, and executions for witchcraft, are still practically universal, except in regions under the immediate control of white officials. Religion is "grossly anthropomorphic," all natural phenomena are explained by reference to spirits, mostly ill-disposed towards man. Language is in the agglutinative state; only suffixes are used among the Sudanese, but prefixes, alliteration, and suffixes are used among the Bantu.

Physical and psychic characteristics are substantially uniform, only trained observers being able to detect a few differences here and there. The West African negro is usually rather above the average human stature, with arms disproportionately long, and slender legs. He is erect and easy in carriage, and has a well-developed physique. The color varies from a dark chocolate to a deep black, the hair is invariably black with elliptical transverse section, causing it to be "woolly." The face has markedly prognathous jaws, thick, everted lips, a flat nose, and large prominent eyes, always black with yellowish cornea.

The psychic nature of the West African exhibits most of those immaturities so common among uncultured savages, and analogous to childish thought and emotion in more developed races. Ellis says:

"The negroes of the Slave Coast have more spontaneity and less application, more intuition and less reasoning power, than the inhabitants of temperate climates. They can imitate, but they cannot invent, or even apply. . . . They are usually deficient in energy, and their great indolence makes them easily submit to the despotism of kings, chiefs, and priests, while they are as improvident as they are indolent."¹

In temperament, says Keane, they are "fitful, passionate, and cruel, though often affectionate and faithful"

¹ "Ewe-speaking peoples", p. 10.

They are sensuous, and possess little sense of dignity and little self-consciousness; "hence the easy acceptance of the yoke of slavery."¹ In one profoundly important particular they seem peculiarly deficient, *i. e.*, in that strength of will which gives stability of purpose, long staying power, and self-control in emotional crises. There is here a striking contrast with our American Indians in several aspects. Finally, it may be added, that a passionate love of music and rhythmic motion dominates them to a remarkable degree.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

CHAPTER III.

INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY.

The natives of West Africa live under conditions adverse to the growth of industrial efficiency ; indeed few regions are more hostile to such a development. Their physical environment deprives them of many motives to labor. The weather is never so cold as to necessitate substantial dwellings or clothes. Less food is required than if they lived in a temperate or frigid climate. So abundant is nature's provision for food and other wants, that with little effort they obtain what is needed. The staple artificial drink, palm-wine, is secured merely by tapping a palm of a variety which grows wild everywhere, and fermenting the juice.¹ Palm-oil, a prominent article of diet, is pressed from nuts produced abundantly by another wild palm. Du Chaillu says of Lower Guinea : " The forests abound in wild fruits and nuts, some of which are eaten. For instance, the pineapple grows wild in all parts of this region and is a delicious fruit ".² The waters teem with edible fish and the forests with game. Such materials as are needed for simple huts and meagre furniture are everywhere in profusion. It is common for a village to be removed and reconstructed in four or five days.

In the case of cultivated produce, the fertility of the soil and the climatic advantages are such that very large returns are yielded to slight labor. Speaking of grain crops along the coast, Bosman

¹ See Bosman's " Guinea ", *op. cit.*, p. 453. He gives a good account of this palm and its manifold uses to the native, aside from its wine-producing capacity.

² " Equatorial Africa ", p. 46.

said: "It were to be wished that corn were to be produced in our country (Holland) with as little trouble as here;" and of rice along parts of the Upper Guinea coast: "It grows in such prodigious plenty that it is easy to load a ship with it, perfectly cleansed, at one penny or less the pound".¹ The plantain, a large coarse banana, is a prime article of food, and few cultivated plants yield more food for less labor than the banana. Describing a field of plantains, Du Chaillu says, that the small palms are set about five feet apart, and each tree bears a bunch of plantains weighing from forty to one hundred and twenty pounds. "No cereal could in the same space of ground give nearly so large a supply of food".²

Previous to the appearance of Europeans, the extreme west coast of Africa was completely isolated from the outside world; its inhabitants lived in scattered villages buried in the forest, and remained in dense ignorance of any other desirable objects than the necessities of their own savage life. Among the forces which have helped to civilize other peoples has been the stimulus to effort arising from newly conceived wants, quickened into being at the discovery of commodities, first brought by strangers.

The appearance of Europeans with new and attractive commodities, produced a great effect. To get them in exchange for native products, thousands of negroes were moved to unwonted exertions, while foreigners taught them new and better methods of production. All this, however, has been comparatively recent, and for ages the negroes were without such incitements to industry.

The direct influence of the West African climate is

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 458.

² "Journey to Ashango land", p. 119.

adverse to persistent effort. Where high temperatures, and low humidity prevail, the rapid evaporation from the body cools it, and permits considerable exertion, as is the case in Egypt. Great humidity, combined with a low temperature, as in the British Isles, has no bad effect. But West Africa enjoys neither of these advantages, it swelters under a torrid heat combined with excessive humidity.¹ Such conditions deaden industrial effort. The white man, whose capacity for energetic and prolonged labor in most circumstances is so great, whose wants are numerous and insatiable, finds himself irresistibly overcome. Rich rewards await those who can put forth a little effort, yet as Ellis says, so intense is the disinclination to work, that even the strongest wills can rarely combat it. In fact, the very will itself seems to become inert.²

We are now prepared to appreciate the workings of the vitally important factor of natural selection. It is obvious that in West Africa natural selection could not have tended to evolve great industrial capacity and aptitude, simply because these were not necessary to survival. Where a cold climate and poor natural productiveness threaten constant destruction to those who cannot or will not put forth persistent effort, selection operates to eliminate them, and preserve the efficient. In torrid and bountiful West Africa, however, the conditions of existence have for ages been too easy to select the industrially efficient, and reject the inefficient.

In fact, climatic conditions being such as to make severe and prolonged effort actually dangerous to physique, it is plain that the possession of great energy must be dis-

¹ See Herbert Spencer's "*Principles of sociology*", sec. 16, for an illuminating discussion of the influence of climatic factors.

² "*The Tshi-speaking peoples, etc.*", p. 4.

advantageous. It may seem at first sight that, as it is the tendency of selection to adapt a species to the environment it lives in, the negroes should have become exempt from this danger. But Nature is economical. Why should the Guinea natives be carefully adapted to perform heavy labor in spite of climate, when by reason of that very climate such labor was never required? Hence, very little power for energetic and persevering effort was evolved in the race. Just a modicum of such power suffices the main purpose, and during seven or eight hours of maximum temperature each day, all the animal world, man included, seeks an effortless existence in shady places.

The character developed through ages of selection amid these conditions, whatever else it may contain, is not likely to include the elements of high industrial efficiency. Indeed, measured by the standard of northern civilized peoples, the Guinea native's easy-going indolence, heedlessness, and improvidence seem incredible.

The industrial régime which actually obtains among the peoples under investigation shows well the consequences of these conditions. The economic development of a people is marked by a progressive specialization of industry, the gradual creation of labor-saving apparatus, and the accumulation of property. Let us see where the natives of Guinea stand in these respects.

Division of labor has proceeded but a very little way. The most striking instance of it to civilized observers is that which assigns all agricultural and menial labor to the female sex. Of the region explored by him, Du Chaillu says: "The women not only provide all the food, but they are also the beasts of burden in this part of the world".¹ In allusion to the rubber-gathering industry, he adds: "Even here I noticed the laziness of

¹ "Equatorial Africa", p. 76.

the black men, and the cruel way in which the women are obliged to work ".¹ Describing life near the Congo, Proyart says, " We have spoken elsewhere of agriculture, it is the women who carry it on. . . . The men, besides an universal prejudice, founded no doubt on their indolence, would think they degraded themselves if they tilled the ground." ² The men are in part occupied with war, hunting, or fishing; for the rest, their great delight is in endless talking and smoking, accompanied incidentally by what Miss Kingsley touches upon as " that great African native industry—scratching themselves ".³ Their love of tobacco and their noisy garrulous companionship, which cause the hours to pass by unheeded, are brought out again and again by all writers on West African native life.

Still, a few handicrafts are known among them, and in most of the higher tribes are carried on by a small artisan class. Bosman describes some of the Upper Guinea tribes as having " a very few manual arts ", and mentions as examples the making of wooden or earthen cups, troughs, and the like, arm-rings of gold, copper, or ivory, the weaving of small narrow strips of cloth, and crude blacksmithing.⁴ Of the lower Congo natives Proyart says, " Almost all of them are hunters and fishers. . . . There are also smiths among them, as well as potters, weavers, and salt-makers." ⁵ Du Chaillu, Miss Kingsley, and others tell of tribes, however, who have never developed any handicrafts, depending upon their more well-to-do neighbors for a few articles, obtained by barter.

¹ *Idem.*, p. 78.

² " History of Loango ", by the Abbe Proyart, Paris, 1776 ; found in Pinkerton's " Voyages and travels ", vol. xvi. See p. 574.

³ " West African studies ", p. 97.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 390.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 574.

The number of handicraftsmen in any given tribe is small, and their special skill is jealously withheld from the common herd. In some instances, indeed, the population at large regard these men, especially the blacksmiths, with half-superstitious awe. These simple folk exist somehow on an incredibly meagre supply of implements and weapons. Even in the manual arts women are compelled to do all the drudgery of collecting raw material, etc. All these facts reveal how the great mass of male population escapes distasteful toil.

The development of labor-saving apparatus and of skill in its use is on a very low level. So little appreciation do the natives have of such things, that Europeans have found it extremely difficult to persuade the natives to utilize even the most obvious means of saving time and labor. To work at something, which merely promotes in some obscure way an ulterior object, seems to the average Guinea native an incomprehensible policy. Even when he has been made to see that a little more care and effort at first, may save much time and trouble, his aversion to exercising care and his innate happy-go-lucky temperament lead him to neglect such a method.

As illustrating this trait it is said that the natives seem utterly oblivious to the fact that the more crooked a path is the more time and labor will be required to traverse it. As MacDonald puts it :

“ A road, which need not be more than two miles in length, is frequently more than three on account of its windings. The native seldom troubles to get over an obstacle in his path, he goes round it like the ant, and the time lost is of not the slightest value to him, and in this respect he is quite at a loss to understand the haste of the European.” ¹

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 81. On one occasion a missionary, en route from Sierra Leone to the United States, gave the writer a very impressive description of the infinite trials of patience to which white men are subject in West Africa owing to the negro's utter indifference to the value of time or the importance of economizing labor.

Ellis somewhere remarks that the white man's "at once" is always interpreted by the natives to mean any time from an hour to a week.

All transportation is effected by canoes, if any sort of water-way is available, or else by head-carriage, *i. e.*, by carrying packs on the head. Sometimes the pack is carried on the back, partly supported by a strap passed over the head. Overland transportation is by human pack-trains, each porter bearing from forty to a hundred pounds. Alluding to these native porters, Bosman says that, "with a burthen of one hundred pounds on their heads, they run a sort of continual trot, which is so swift that we Hollanders cannot keep up with them without great difficulty, though not loaded with an ounce weight."¹ Robert Norris, describing a journey from the Whydah coast to the capital of Dahomey, speaks of the porters, who bore him in a hammock, jogging "on at their usual rate of about five miles an hour."²

Water carriage, however, is very much depended upon, and to this end many tribes seek to locate their villages near navigable water. The natives along the sea-coast and river-banks seem very expert canoe-men and fine swimmers. Their canoes are made out of large logs by a rude process of hollowing and burning out. Some are of surprising size. Du Chaillu saw a M'Pongwe canoe sixty feet long, over three feet wide, and three feet deep.³ But this is exceptional, for usually they are hardly thirty feet in length. In these small craft some of the most daring occasionally take considerable coasting voyages at favorable seasons of the year. Neverthe-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 479.

² "Bossah Ahadee, King of Dahomey", p. 66. Norris was thus carried on one occasion over forty miles in one day.

³ "Equatorial Africa, p. 167.

less, even at its best, this canoe carriage is extremely unsafe and vexatiously limited in compass. Du Chaillu and Miss Kingsley again and again lost valuable instruments and goods through the capsizing of canoes. Many lives, also, are annually lost in this way.

In agriculture the implements used are exceedingly simple and inefficient. West Africans have no domestic draught animals, and are ignorant of the plow.¹ Du Chaillu says of the F'an tribes :

" Their agricultural operations are very rude, and differ but little from those of the surrounding tribes. Like them, they cut down the trees and brush to make a clearing, burn everything that is cut down, and then plant their crop in the cleared space. The only agricultural instrument they have is a kind of heavy knife or cutlass, which serves in place of an axe to cut down trees, and for many other purposes, such as digging the holes in which they plant their manioc or plantains. After the clearing is made, the women go around among the burned logs and tree-roots, and stick in their roots and shrubs wherever they can find space ; and nature does the rest." ²

Again, Barbot tells us that the Upper Guinea peoples,

" Till or dig the ground with an iron tool, made in the shape of a shoemaker's knife, fixed at the end of a small staff. . . . During the time the work lasts, they are never without a pipe in their mouth, and continually talking to one another ; so that they do not advance much in a day, being very averse to hard labour." ³

The Congo natives " have no other instrument of tillage than a little pointed spade, much like the trowels of our masons ", says Proyart.⁴

The tools used in their handicrafts are likewise of a simple character. The outfit for working iron is practically the same everywhere. It comprises an anvil of stone or iron, formed roughly into a block, a pair of tongs,

¹ Waitz says : " Der Pflug ist so wenig im Gebrauch als die Benutzung von Zugvieh zum Ackerbau oder zu anderen Zwecken." See his " Anthropologie ", bk. ii, p. 80.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 39-40.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 574.

curiously rigged bellows, and a hammer, shaped and used, however, like the pestle for a mortar. The substantial similarity of these tools throughout West Africa, appearing at wide intervals among tribes which have had no intercourse for centuries, though influenced alike by superior peoples of the interior, suggests that iron-working may have been not an indigenous development, but acquired from external sources.

In pottery-making only the bare hands are used, one hand moulding the wet clay, while it is being revolved by the other. For weaving, among such tribes as have learned the art, they have very primitive forms of the loom, which permit strips only a few inches in width and two or three feet in length to be woven. Some of the Upper Guinea tribes are spoken of by Bosman and others as producing considerable quantities of cotton cloth, owing to better appliances and more skill, derived from Mohammedan sources. In Lower Guinea their raw material consists of grass or the thin cuticle stripped off the leaves of a certain palm, "which is then twisted, and becomes a tolerably firm yarn".¹ Many tribes, however, have no looms, but do a little weaving by hand alone. Proyart describes the textile art of the Congo natives as follows :

"The weavers make their cloths of a grass about two feet high, which grows untilled in the desert plains, and needs no preparation to be put to work. The length of the grass is the length of the web ; they make it rather narrower than long. This cloth is woven like ours, but they make it on their knees, without shuttle or loom ; having the patience to pass the woof through the threads with their fingers. . . . The best workmen do not make more than the length of an ell of cloth in the space of eight days." ²

There are many tribes who know nothing of weaving

¹ "Equatorial Africa", p. 462. They are able to dye this yarn in two or three colors, and the colored cloths are highly prized.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 574.

in any manner, and either do without cloth or secure small quantities by trade.

The West Africans love nothing better than trading. The earliest explorers found the coast tribes exchanging surplus fish with their inland neighbors for game or vegetable food, the gold of the Gold Coast region found its way to distant tribes, and iron implements have been seen in use among peoples who knew nothing of metallurgy. Thus inter-tribal trading has always gone on.

This exchanging is carried on mainly by barter. Hence intending travellers or explorers burden themselves with heavy supplies of tobacco, salt, beads, guns, ammunition, cloths and the like, as the only means of paying their way. They often experience infinite vexations, owing to the difficulties of barter.

Rude forms of money, however, have come into use at many points. Cowry-shells seem to have attained the widest currency, and are mentioned as being in common use in Upper Guinea. They have long been employed for this purpose.¹ Much more local in range are such coinage equivalents as "macutes," or "pieces of cloth made a yard long," found among the Loanda natives in 1666,² and the "manilla", a bracelet of alloyed copper for some time in use along the Ivory Coast, but now "sinking into a mere conventional token." Even slaves were passed from hand to hand at roughly fixed valuations. Du Chaillu says on this point :

"No better illustration could be given of the way in which the slave system has ingrafted itself upon the life and policy of these tribes than this, that, from the seashore to the farthest point in the interior

¹ Waitz remarks : "Nach seiner weiten Verbreitung zu schliessen, muss der Gebrauch der Kauris in Africa sehr alt sein." See "Anthropologie", ii, p. 103.

² See "A Voyage to the Congo", by Angelo and Carli, in Pinkerton's "Voyages and travels", vol. xvi, p. 157.

which I was able to reach, the commercial unit of value is a slave. . . . If a man is fined for an offense, he is mulcted in so many slaves. If he is bargaining for a wife, he contracts to give so many slaves for her." ¹

One needs only to note the character of these several forms of currency to see at a glance how poorly they serve as tools of exchange, and why as a matter of fact, they are little relied upon. Direct barter, still greatly predominates.

What are the results of the West African's industrial régime? The conditions are such that with anything like steady industry and the exercise of a little foresight, his food supply might be ample and varied. But just these qualities he has never developed. The consequence is that thousands live much of the time on the verge of famine. Barbot says: "It is very strange that the blacks should ever know any scarcity and sometimes famine, but it is occasioned by their sloth, they being generally careless, void of foresight, and never providing for casualties." ² The very ease with which they can collect food at one season tempts them irresistibly to put off the labor of providing against worse times. The preservation of meat or even vegetable food is rendered very difficult by the moist, hot climate. The insecurity in which many tribes live continually, by reason of war or natural phenomena, increases the difficulty of producing and maintaining a full food supply.

Certain staple articles of diet are found nearly everywhere, while less valued articles vary from country to country. The plantain and manioc furnish the most universal bread equivalents. The plantain is eaten like bananas, or "cut in longitudinal strips and fried", or rolled in leaves and baked. Miss Kingsley speaks of

¹ "Equatorial Africa", p. 380.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 196.

two varieties of manioc, one of which is but little cultivated because it yields poorly. Of the other she says,

“The poisonous kind is that in general use, its great dahlia-like roots are soaked in water to remove the poisonous principle, and then dried and grated up, or more commonly beaten up into a kind of dough in a wooden trough. . . . The thump, thump, thump of this manioc beating is one of the most familiar sounds in a bush village.”¹ As to its dietary value, she remarks: “It is a good food when it is properly prepared, but when a village has soaked its soil-laden manioc tubers in one and the same pool of water for years, the water in that pool becomes a trifle strong, and both it and the manioc get a smell which once smelt is never to be forgotten.”²

Hence it is that a disease, known in native parlance as “cut him belly”, is very prevalent. Livingstone considered manioc to be of poor sustaining quality, for “no matter how much one may eat, two hours afterward he is as hungry as ever”.³

Perhaps the next most important vegetable food, in point of universality and of quantity used, is the yam. Palm-oil is very much used to cook vegetables in or as a sauce for meat. The universal drink is palm-wine, of which the natives are excessively fond.

By no means so widely known, but constituting a part of the food supply in one locality or another, are rice, maize, millet, squash-seed, and a few vegetables, such as cabbage and beans. Rice is known only in the lowlands of some parts of Upper Guinea. Maize, recently introduced, is still unknown to interior tribes, away from contact with the whites. Millet is confined to relatively few localities. It is quite evident, at any rate, that the West Africans need not lack for a good and varied diet.

For flesh the chief dependence of most tribes is fish.

¹ “Travels in West Africa”, p. 208.

² *Idem.*, p. 209.

³ See his “Travels in South Africa”, pp. 326-7.

Even the inland peoples, not living near streams, get supplies of so-called "dried fish" from their better situated neighbors. Wild game is also drawn upon so far as their very crude methods permit. They are quite indiscriminate in their choice of animals, eating snakes, monkeys, and any other creature that falls in their way. They derive, however, only a most uncertain and meagre supply of food from this source, and when a windfall does occur they proceed to devour immoderate quantities, until famine again threatens. As Miss Kingsley puts it: "The gorge they go in for after a successful elephant hunt is a thing to see—once".¹

Some tribes, of a more settled and peaceable character, such as were the Whydahs previous to their conquest by Dahomey, keep small stocks of goats and poultry. But these are apt to be so limited in supply, that they are reserved for special occasions. On the whole, it seems that flesh diet is largely a matter of haphazard.

Their method of "drying" fish is to lay them out in the sun, where they dry up a little, and quickly begin to putrefy. Miss Kingsley says that meat is often "just hung up in the smoke of the fires, which hardens it, blackening the outside quickly, but when the lumps are taken out of the smoke, in a short time cracks occur in them, and the interior part proceeds to go bad, and needless to say maggoty".² Nowhere do the natives make any distinction between the flesh of animals properly slaughtered and of those which have died of disease. They eagerly fall upon the carcass of a hippopotamus, which has been dead for days and lying under the torrid sun.

¹ "Travels in West Africa", p. 211.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 210. See also MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

A summary of this phase of our subject, may be quoted in the words of Miss Kingsley :

“ The food supply consists of plantain, yam, koko, sweet potatoes, maize, pumpkin, pineapple, and ochres, fish both wet and smoked—and flesh of many kinds—including human in certain districts, and snails and snakes, crayfish, and big maggot-like pupae of the rhinoceros beetle and the *Rhyncophorus palmatorum*. For sweetmeats the sugar-cane abounds, but it is only used chewed *au naturel*. Out of all this varied material the natives of the Congo Français forests produce dirtily, carelessly, and wastefully a dull indigestible diet.”¹

Next we may consider the character of their houses and furniture. During the pouring rains of the wet season there is much need for a roof, while the nights are sometimes cool enough to make shelter comfortable to a scantily clothed people. But these needs can be met by simple construction with coarse materials.

The style of habitation varies with the locality. MacDonald describes the Gold Coast huts as made of bamboo splits or wattle work, tied securely to a double row of sticks planted all around the intended house-space, and having the interstices of several inches between the two rows filled with loose gravelly clay, thus forming thick impervious walls. The roof has gables, and is made of a frame-work of bamboo into which a thatch of leaves is laced.² Du Chaillu describes the huts in the equatorial region, as built of upright poles, to which broad strips of bark are lashed, and roofs of the same material added. Many tribes have round, conical shaped huts, thatched with grass or leaves. Waitz remarks that there is little variety in West African habitations. The difference between those of rich and poor, king and subject, is not one of size and elaboration, but merely of number, the rich having many huts for their

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 80–81.

many wives, and the poor having but one or two.¹ Not only the warmth of climate, but the great insecurity in which most of the tribes live, discourages any further architectural development.

Ordinarily a village consists of two rows of huts, lining the sides of a street. Here and there a town may be found, with two streets crossing at right angles, and a large public square at the intersection. Very rarely is the aggregation of houses and population large enough to be dignified with the title of city, as in the case of Coomassie, the capital of Ashanti. But the structure of the huts remains uniform throughout, with an exception in the case of royal "palaces," so called. Even in such cases, the palace is distinguished merely by slightly greater size, and by multiplication of rooms in the form of adjoining huts, the whole being sometimes enclosed in high walls. Such was the case with the residence of the King of Dahomey.

There is very little furniture. "In entering a hut," says Proyard, "you perceive a mat, which is the master's bed, his table, and his seat, some earthenware vessels, which constitute his kitchen tackle, some roots and fruits, which are his belly-provisions."² Sometimes one finds rude stools and benches. Miss Kingsley when travelling through the Ogowe River country, was usually compelled to choose for a bed between a long, low bench and the floor.³ A wooden trough in which to beat up the manioc, an earthenware or iron pot, some calabashes

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 88. He says: "Der Arme und der Reiche unterscheiden sich in Rücksicht ihrer Wohnung meist nur dadurch, dass der eine mehrere, der andere weniger solchen Hütten besitzt, der Anzahl seiner Weiber entsprechend, und selbst mit den Königen ist es oftderselbe Fall." This is corroborated by more recent writers on life in West Africa.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 566.

³ For example, see her "Travels in West Africa", pp. 178-9.

(a species of large gourd), and, among some tribes, baskets, constitute the outfit of the average native home. Thus, their equipment in furniture and utensils is so meagre, that the West African housewife would be dumb-founded if introduced to even the limited equipment of an average Negro cabin in the United States.

The obtuseness and heedlessness of the Sudanese in all sanitary matters, and of the Bantus in many points, have long been the despair of European administrators. Speaking of the various causes of unhealthiness in Upper Guinea, Bosman says :

“ The stench of this unwholsome mist is very much augmented by the Negroes’ pernicious custom of laying their fish, for five or six days, to putrefy before they eat it, and their easing their bodies round their houses and all over their towns.” ¹

MacDonald and others comment on the fact that they “ build their villages without the least regard to situation or pleasantness.” Their custom of burying their dead in the earthen floors of their own huts is one which the whites have found it extremely difficult to suppress. Among none of the true negro stocks, from Senegal to the Niger Delta, does there seem to be any appreciation of cleanliness or of the danger of unsanitary conditions.

But the Bantu tribes show some inclination to maintain cleanliness about their villages. The drying of fish, keeping of corpses for days after decomposition has set in, and other proceedings, very offensive to civilized noses, go on as everywhere, but the villages and individual huts are kept cleaner and neater than in Upper Guinea. Miss Kingsley gives “ street cleaning ” as one

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 382. All travellers in West Africa find it necessary very soon to accustom themselves to most noisome odors of many kinds, and to all sorts of revolting uncleanness.

of the distinguishing characteristics of the Bantu peoples.¹

In regard to clothing, two factors enter, not hitherto requiring mention, viz., the love of personal adornment and the sense of modesty. In the torrid zone clothes are worn not primarily to keep the body warm, but to adorn it and to meet the demands of decency. If warmth were the only consideration, most West Africans would never take the trouble to provide clothing at all. As it is, however, even the cannibal Fans and like tribes have some sort of meagre loin-cloth, a fringe of beaded cords suspended from the waist, or a small apron of leaves. How little this is for protection is shown by the fact that children, up to the age of about ten, run about naked. At the age of puberty, however, some covering is assumed, but usually no more than the loin-cloth, fastened around the hips and reaching down nearly or quite to the knees.²

Whether their modesty or their inordinate delight in self-decoration counts the more as a motive in this, it would be hard to determine. Waitz, indeed, declares unhesitatingly that modesty for the most part figures far less than vanity (*Eitelkeit*) among the negroes.³ For this opinion there is much evidence. Innumerable instances like the following might be given. Du Chaillu says of the M'Pongwe women :

¹ See her "West African studies", p. 425.

² The best way in which to get a notion of the costumes worn in West Africa, is to examine the illustrations in the books of Miss Kingsley, Du Chaillu, and MacDonald.

³ He says : "Die Schamhaftigkeit ist est freilich meist weit weniger als die Eitelkeit und die Liebe zum Putze, die den Neger hierbei bestimmt. Die Putzsucht und Prachtliebe ist überhaupt eine seiner hervorstechendsten Eigenschaften." See the "Anthropologie", ii, p, 87.

"On their bare arms and legs they delight to wear great numbers of brass rings, often bearing from twenty-five to thirty pounds of brass on each ankle in this way. This ridiculous vanity greatly obstructs their locomotion, and makes their walk a clumsy waddle." ¹

Bright cotton cloths, beads, looking-glasses, gaudy umbrellas, silk hats and a variety of such incongruous, but to the African very ornamental, articles are the main stock in trade of European traders there.² So strong is the motive here exemplified, that it has brought about considerable industry among many tribes, which never could have been persuaded to work otherwise.

¹ "Equatorial Africa", p. 33.

² An invoice of goods given by Atkins, in his "Voyage to Guinea", pp. 160-1, includes all such articles as those mentioned in the text. See, also, an extensive and amusing list given by Matthews, in his "Voyage to Sierra Leone", (1788), p. 144.

CHAPTER IV.

WEST AFRICAN RELIGION.

Religious beliefs and practices in West Africa are not altogether uniform, though in essentials there are few variations. Most of the statements of earlier writers are too unsystematic and superficial to convey a correct understanding of the subject. Fortunately, however, the recent careful and thorough studies by Ellis, of the Upper Guinea peoples, and by Miss Kingsley of the Lower Guinea tribes, supply the requisite knowledge. Taking these as a basis, the observations scattered through the older authors may supply illustration and corroboration at many points.

The religion of the tribes of Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and Liberia has been so modified by Mohammedan and Christian influences, that it is hardly worth while to pause long over it. The Wolofs, Felups, and other groups in Senegambia, or in the country south of it, have long been subject to a growing influx and intermixture of peoples from the interior, chiefly the Mandingans. They are in reality border tribes, situated between Negro-land proper on the south, and Moorish countries on the north and northeast. They came earliest under European influence. Thus it has come about, as Keane puts it, that most of them

“profess themselves Muhammadans, the rest Catholics, while all alike are heathen at heart; only the former have charms with texts from the Koran which they cannot read, and the latter medals and scapulars of the ‘Seven Dolours’ or of the Trinity, which they cannot understand.”¹ He adds further that “Many old rites still flourish, the household gods are not forgotten, and for the lizard, most popular of tutelar deities, the customary milk-bowl is daily replenished.”

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 45,

Among the Felups there is some notion of a superhuman being, "vaguely identified with the sky, the rain, the wind, or thunder-storm." Everywhere the medicine man is feared, courted, but inwardly detested. In Sierra Leone and Liberia are found similar hybrid religions of peculiar and confusing character. The original heathen beliefs persistently survive, as shown, for example, by the universal use of "gree-gree bags," or charms. Miss Kingsley states that she never saw a native there "in national costume without some, both around his neck, and around his leg, just under the knee."¹ These charms are supplied for a substantial consideration, by the medicine men or priests.

Such then, very briefly, is the religion of this region. But as the influence of two great religions, alien to that of the natives, has been at work for several centuries, we may infer that at the beginning of slave-trading times the religion was similar to what is found among the Guinea negroes further south.

Ellis is of the opinion that among the Tshi, the Ewe, and the Yoruba-speaking peoples the rate of development has not been uniform, but that it has been somewhat greater in the east among the Ewes and Yorubas than in the west among the Tshis. This he attributes to the open character of the easterly countries, permitting easier intercourse and exchange of ideas. The Tshis of the Gold Coast have always lived in isolated villages, separated by dense forests. But as one goes eastward the forests dwindle, and the obstacles to overland travel are reduced.²

This greater freedom of communication seems to have promoted especially unification and higher organization

¹ "Travels in West Africa", p. 19.

² See his "Tshi-speaking peoples", pp. 8-9.

of religious beliefs and practices. While the religions of all rest upon the same foundation, and in outcome are practically the same, yet in passing from west to east an advance is observed in fusing insignificant local gods into greater gods of more extensive reach and power while the priesthood in the west is found to be more organized, until among the Yorubas it is a compact and powerful order, having a large share in government. The root of all West African religion, however, from the Gold Coast to the lower Congo, is the same, and may now be explained once for all.

So admirable is the brief summary given by Ellis that we cannot do better than to take it as a starting point. It is as follows:—

“Partly through dreams, and partly through the condition of man during sleep, trances, and state of syncope, the Tshi-speaking negro has arrived at the conclusions—

1. That he has a second individuality, an in-dwelling spirit residing in his body. He calls this a ‘*kra*.’

2. That he himself will, after death, continue his present existence in a ghostly shape. That he will become, in short, the ghost of himself, which he calls a ‘*srahman*.’

No. 1 has been very frequently confounded with No. 2, though they are essentially distinct. The *kra* existed before the birth of the man, probably as the successive *kra* of a long series of men, and after his death it will equally continue its independent career, either by entering a new-born human body, or by wandering about the world as a ‘*sisá*’, *i. e.*, a *kra* without a tenement. The general idea is that the *sisá* always seeks to return to a human body, and become again a *kra*, even taking advantage of the temporary absence of a *kra* from its tenement to usurp its place. Hence it is that any involuntary convulsion, such as a sneeze, which is believed to indicate that the *kra* is leaving the body, is always followed by wishes of good health. Usually it only quits it during sleep, and the occurrences in dreams are believed to be the adventures of the *kra* during its absence. The *srahman*, or ghost-man, only commences his career when the corporeal man dies, and he simply continues to exist in the ghost-world or land of dead men. There are, therefore, in one sense three individualities to be considered, (1) the man, (2) the in-dwelling spirit, or *kra*, and (3) the ghost or *srahman*, though in another sense the last is only a continuation of the first in shadowy form.”¹

¹ “The Ewe-speaking peoples”, pp. 15–16.

Having once conceived these ideas, the natives of West Africa assisted by the medicine men and priests follow them to their logical consequences. All the amazing practices that so dumbfound the foreign visitor, all the apparently silly and inconsequential notions and customs, are in reality the outcome of apparently necessary inferences from their premises. Miss Kingsley says :

"It may seem a paradox to say of people who are always seeing visions that they are not visionaries, but they are not. . . . He is not a dreamer nor a doubter ; everything is real, very real, horribly real to him." ¹

If men have their ghosts, then animals must have theirs, and plants, and even inanimate objects, such as weapons and clothes. Therefore, "acting logically upon this belief; he releases these ghosts, or souls, from their material parts, for the ghost-men in Dead-land".² Thus, at the death of the head of the house, more particularly if he be wealthy or of royal family, wives and slaves are killed, that there may be companionship and service for the deceased in Dead-land. In the case of poorer men, these things are done on a scale proportioned to their status. At the death of a king of Ashanti hecatombs of victims die to furnish a suitable retinue for the royal ghost. When King Kwamina died about the year 1800, the funeral ceremonies were repeated weekly for three months, and on each occasion two hundred slaves were slain. At the funeral of the mother of Tutu Kwamina in 1816 three thousand victims died.³

The funeral obsequies over a deceased king are called "The Grand Custom," but in addition to these there are the "Annual Customs," when the honors due

¹ "West African studies", p. 124.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

³ "Tshi-speaking peoples", p. 164.

to the dead are again celebrated in less costly style. During the reign of Bossa Ahadee, King of Dahomey, Robert Norris witnessed one of these periodical celebrations. He says :

“The court was engaged in the celebration of a grand festival, which continues several weeks, and is called the ‘annual customs’, when the king waters the graves of his ancestors with the blood of many human victims.”¹

He then gives an account of what he saw—a revolting picture of horrible bloodshed. He relates also how, on the death of a king, all is confusion, and how the wives fall to killing each other that their spirits may accompany the king. When Bossa Ahadee died after a long reign, “two hundred and eighty-five of the women in the palace had been murdered, before the announcement of a royal successor to the throne could take place.”² The same thing on a smaller scale occurs when men of less distinction die. Even where a man is so poor as to have no wives or slaves a goat and some fowls will be killed at his grave. Everything the deceased valued, his weapons, his ornaments, his trophies, together with a stock of provisions, are buried with him. Ellis says in this way no small portion of their wealth disappears continually, the loss at the burial of a single distinguished person running up to many hundred dollars.

Since every object in nature has its kra, the various occurrences, that take place in connection with it, must in the absence of other explanation, be attributed to its miserable spirit.

“Some day a man falls into a river and is drowned. The body is recovered, and is found to present no external injury which in the experience of man would account for death. What then caused the death? asks the negro. Water, alone, is harmless; he drinks it daily,

¹ “Bossa Ahadee, etc.”, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

² *Idem.*, pp. 129–30.

washes in it, uses it for a variety of purposes. He decides, therefore, that water did not cause the death of the man, and having an entity, a spiritual being, ready at hand to whom to attribute the disaster, he concludes that the river's kra, its indwelling spirit, killed the man."¹

When a bolt of lightning kills someone or sets fire to a house, when a tornado tears through the village, or a pestilence silently destroys it, in short, when anything unusual happens, the native's instant explanation is that some spirit did it.

So literally true is this that the Guinea negroes have no conception of "natural death" or of "accident." All diseases, deaths, or bodily injuries, are supposed to have been caused by man or by some spirit. The distinction between deliberately intended injury to another's person or property and a purely accidental one is not recognized. And so these untaught people go through life dominated at every step by the belief that every success or misfortune is solely due to the mysterious operation of unseen personal agencies.

Inasmuch as men's afflictions make a more lasting impression than their satisfactions, and as the West African's environment is one filled with imposing and dangerous natural phenomena, to him it seems that the malignant ill-disposed spirits are vastly in the majority. Hence, he must propitiate them; he must flatter them; appease their avarice; atone for any insult to them; and thereby keep them complacent toward himself. Out of this there has arisen much ceremonial, a priesthood, the use of charms, and—most costly delusion of all—witchcraft.

Quite distinct from offerings made to the ghosts of deceased persons are those made to the fetish spirits. The former provide for the comfort and satisfaction of

¹ "Ewe-speaking peoples", pp. 21-2.

the departed ones, but the latter are intended to win the good will of the kras of ocean and river, wind and lightning. A few concrete instances will reveal clearly this deeply ingrained belief and habit of the people.

Du Chaillu gives the following typical example of the way in which disease is dealt with :

“The Camma theory of disease is that Okambo (the devil) has got into the sick man. Now this devil is only to be driven out with noise, and accordingly they surround the sick man and beat drums and kettles close to his head ; fire off guns close to his ears, sing, shout, and dance all they can. This lasts till the poor fellow either dies or is better.”¹

This is the universal West African method of treating sickness. When it fails (and of course it is well calculated to fail) it is felt that the disease-god has triumphed, and so great is the fear engendered thereby, that it is very common for the entire village to move away. Frequently this is done several times within a year.

Ellis says :

“In time of peace, human victims are sacrificed to the gods whenever their assistance is required in any matter of importance. For ordinary affairs fowls, sheep, or bullocks are sacrificed, there being a regularly ascending scale of sacrifice, according to the urgency of the need of protection or assistance, which culminates in the highest and most costly sacrifice of all, that of a human life.”²

Not merely, however, are offerings made thus in anticipation, but subsequently in case of success they are repeated as thank-offerings ; in case of failure, still they are repeated to mollify the anger of the gods. Snelgrave witnessed in Dahomey the slaughter of four hundred captives in honor of a victory over a neighboring enemy, by which “above eighteen hundred captives

¹ “Equatorial Africa”, p. 282.

² “Tshi-speaking peoples”, p. 170.

had been taken and brought to the capital ".¹ He tells further how

"The king at the time we were present, ordered the captives of Tussoe to be brought into the court ; which being accordingly done, he chose himself a great number out of them to be sacrificed to his fetiche or guardian angel, the others being kept for slaves for his own use or to be sold to the Europeans."

Human sacrifices, however, are not equally common throughout West Africa, for while they are extremely frequent in Upper Guinea, they are comparatively rare in Lower Guinea. In the latter region Miss Kingsley tells us that the value of the sacrifice is proportioned to the favor desired :

"Some favors are worth a dish of plantains, some a fowl, some a goat, and some a human being, though human sacrifice is very rare in the Congo Français, the killing of people being nine times in ten a witchcraft palaver." ²

To deal with the world of spirits a special class of men exists, variously called medicine men, witch-doctors, or priests. They are the professional experts, well versed in mysterious ways of reaching the spirits, and mediating directly with them. Among the Ewes and Yorubas the original multitude of individual spirits have become fused into type-gods, *i. e.*, instead of every stream having its own particular kra, there is one god of all streams ; instead of every tree having an indwelling spirit, there is a god of the forest, and so on. Along with this there has been a parallel development as to those who negotiate with the gods. Among the Tshis all the priests profess to handle all matters indifferently, be it a case of illness, drowning, or any other misfortune. But among the Ewes and Yorubas the priesthood is an organized body, differentiated into those who serve *Wu*,

¹ "A new account of Guinea", by Capt. Wm. Snelgrave, London, 1734, p. 37.

² "Travels in West Africa", p. 451.

the god of the ocean, those who serve *Mawu*, the god of the weather, etc. The priests of *Wu* dare not trespass upon the special sphere of the priests of *Mawu*, and so a native goes to one or the other according to the nature of his trouble. There are also priestesses who serve the phallic deities, and whose chief business is prostitution. "Properly speaking", says Ellis, "their libertinage should be confined to the male worshippers at the temple of the god, but practically it is indiscriminate. Children born from such unions belong to the god."

From the humbler medicine men, found in every village, up to the compactly organized and powerful priesthood of Dahomey, the functions of all are essentially alike, *i. e.*, to cure disease by driving out the evil spirit, to fend off threatening calamity by appeasing the wrath of an offended deity, to secure victory in war, good harvests, good catches of fish, to detect witches and direct their proper execution, etc. Priests are present and officiate invariably at every birth, marriage, and death, they conduct the annual festivals, and set the dates for them; in short, nothing in West African affairs can proceed safely or prosperously without their ceaseless intervention.¹

Another inference made by the native from his belief in *kras*, is that his priest can attract certain good spirits into little objects, which may then be worn on the person or hung in the hut, and thus afford protection against the manifold ills that flesh is heir to. Wherever travellers have penetrated Africa, the natives are

¹ For fuller details as to the priesthood, see Ellis, in "The Tshi-speaking peoples", p. 119, and "The Ewe-speaking peoples", p. 139; Kingsley in "West African studies", p. 168, *et seq.*; and Waitz in his "Anthropologie", ii, p. 196, *et seq.*

found to believe implicitly in the efficacy of "gree-grees" or charms. Anything serves for the purpose, antelope horns, snail shells, nut shells, so long as some priest has properly doctored them. Into these are put "all manner of nastiness, usually on the seacoast a large percentage of fowl-dung."¹ Countless instances might be given of the eager desire for good charms; one may be cited from Du Chaillu:

"I noticed that they very carefully saved the brain [of the gorilla he had shot], and was told that charms were made of this—charms of two kinds. Prepared in one way, the charm gave the wearer a strong hand for the hunt, and in another it gave him success with women."²

On a large scale they have charms to protect a plantation or village, not alone from unseen powers, but from thieves, human or brute. As Miss Kingsley says:

"Charms are not all worn upon the body, some go to the plantations and are hung there, ensuring an unhappy and swift end for the thief who comes stealing. Some are hung round the bows of the canoe, others over the doorway of the house to prevent evil spirits from coming in—a sort of tame watch-dog spirits."³

Norris tells that, when the Dahomian invading army was about to make the passage of a river, which could easily have been defended, "the infatuated Whydahs contented themselves with placing the fetiche stake in the path to oppose the oncoming army."⁴ It was disregarded in this case, and the Whydahs were ruined with fire and spear. In smaller affairs, however, so absolute is the faith of the negroes in the power of these charms, and such is their dread of them, that any house or plantation known to have a charm of the proper kind in charge of it, is seldom molested by thieves or petty

¹ Kingsley, "Travels, etc.", p. 446.

² "Equatorial Africa", p. 101.

³ "Travels in West Africa", p. 450.

⁴ "Bossa Ahadee, etc.", p. 69.

marauders. Thus is their superstition strangely utilized for the protection of property.

But the feature of their primitive religion that strikes all civilized observers with the deepest horror and gloom is witchcraft. Writing in the early fifties, Du Chaillu said: "The greatest curse of the whole country is *aniemba*, sorcery, or witchcraft. . . . At least seventy-five per cent. of the deaths in all tribes are executions for supposed witchcraft."¹ He was again and again horrified and sickened by seeing poor wretches slain in tortures for this reason, while the utmost persuasions known to him were powerless to arrest the proceedings. Forty years later Miss Kingsley adds her testimony in these emphatic words: "The belief in witchcraft is the cause of more African deaths than anything else. It has killed and still kills more men and women than the slave trade."² Under its terrible infatuation whole villages have been known actually to dwindle and disappear through executions of members in a frenzy of superstitious terror.

To the West African a witch is a man or woman who has somehow obtained control of evil spirits, and is using this agency to cause disease, ill-luck, or even death amongst fellow-tribesmen. To raise the suspicion of witchcraft is fatally easy, but for the accused to disprove it, is well-nigh impossible; hence the condition of affairs so well described for us by Miss Kingsley:

"At almost every death a suspicion of witchcraft arises. The witch-doctor is called in, and proceeds to find out the guilty person. Then woe to the unpopular men, the weak women, and the slaves, for on some of them will fall the accusation that means ordeal by poison or fire, followed, if these point to guilt, as from their nature they usually do, by a terrible death: slow roasting alive—mutilation by degrees be-

¹ "Equatorial Africa", p. 386.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

fore the throat is mercifully cut—tying to stakes at low tide that the high tide may come and drown—and any other death human ingenuity and hate can devise.”¹ She adds later : “ I have seen mild gentle men and women turned by it, in a moment, to incarnate fiends, ready to rend and destroy those who a second before were nearest and dearest to them. Terrible is the fear that falls like a spell upon a village when a big man, or big woman is just known to be dead. The very men catch their breaths, and grow gray around the lips, and then every one, particularly those belonging to the household of the deceased, goes in for the most demonstrative exhibition of grief. Long, long howls creep up out of the first silence—those blood-curdling, infinitely melancholy, wailing howls—once heard, never to be forgotten.”

Then the witch-doctor is hastily summoned, arrives looking mysterious and very wise, goes through certain ceremonies, and pronounces guilt. Instantly a frenzied mob rushes for the victim, and presently the death-roll again has been increased. There may be more than one victim, for any number may be accused of collusion.

To quote again from Du Chaillu, who saw scores of executions :

“ As usual I heard a harrowing tale of witchcraft in the course of the day. Few weeks pass away in these unhappy villages without something of this kind happening. A poor fellow was singing a mournful song, seated on the ground in the village street, and on inquiring the cause of his grief, I was told that the chief of a village near his having died, and the magic Doctor having declared that five persons had bewitched him, the mother, sister and brother of the poor mourner had just been ruthlessly massacred by the excited people, and his own house and plantation burnt and laid waste.”²

Such are the religious thought and belief of the West African natives, and some of the consequences flowing therefrom. On every side, and in every detail their lives are touched and influenced by these delusions. They attribute every misfortune to evil spirits, and for success in every move they rely upon friendly spirits. They sacrifice large portions of ill-spared goods, and even human blood is poured forth. Verily, to the Guinea

¹ “ Travels in West Africa,” p. 463.

² “ Journey to Ashango-land,” p. 110.

Negro his religion is no sham or mockery, but the most vividly real and oppressive fact conceivable.

"In every action of his daily life he shows you how he lives with a great, powerful spirit world around him. You will see him before starting out to hunt or fight, rubbing medicine into his weapons to strengthen the spirits within them, talking to them the while; telling them what care he has taken of them, reminding them of the gifts he has given them, though those gifts were hard for him to give, and begging them in the hour of his dire necessity not to fail him."¹

Yet, in spite of this, his religion has nothing to do with his social morality. It tends to control his conduct toward the gods, but not his conduct toward fellow men. This is a fact of the first importance.

Ellis tells us that in West Africa :

"Religion is not in any way allied with moral ideas," and that the only sins, properly speaking, are "first, insults offered to the gods ; secondly, neglect of the gods."² And as he says further, 'Murder, theft, and all offenses against the person or against property, are matters in which the gods have no immediate concern, and in which they take no interest, except in the case when, bribed by a valuable offering, they take up the quarrel in the interests of some faithful worshipper. . . . The most atrocious crimes, committed as between man and man, the gods can view with equanimity. These are man's concerns, and must be rectified or punished by man.'

Thus the African's code of behavior toward the gods is a matter quite aside from considerations of social morality, and conversely his religion has nothing to do with relations to men.

In reality the West African's religion is simply his science of nature. Civilized peoples have for the most part differentiated their religion from their science. They have certain entities called "forces of nature", which sufficiently explain all natural phenomena. But the conception of an impersonal force, such as gravity or electricity, is utterly foreign to the Negro's mind.

¹ Kingsley, "West African studies," p. 130.

² "Tshi-speaking peoples," pp. 10-11. See also the statements of Waitz in his "Anthropologie," ii, pp. 190-1.

Anything that is done must have required the volition of a being, visible or invisible. Hence his multitude of spirits, and his methods of dealing with them. Whereas we have life-saving stations along the sea-coast, a weather bureau, and boards of health, the African casts human beings into the sea, offers sacrifices so that the medicine man may predict or bring good weather, and buys charms to protect him from disease. His purpose is the same as ours, but his science is false, and his expenditure futile. With us it is partly the role of religion to control conduct toward our fellow men ; with the African it is to guide him safely through the multitudinous dangers of life arising from the hostile action of countless unseen spirits.

CHAPTER V.

SOCIAL LIFE AND ORGANIZATION.

We shall next consider the institution of marriage and the family, the ceremonials attending various significant events in the life of the individual, and the attitude of individuals toward their fellowmen.

The fundamental fact which determines the social position of women, is that they are property, owned by the men precisely as are slaves or material goods. Upon this fact rests every custom regulating their existence. Women are bought and sold, their virginity is valued solely as a marketable commodity, adultery is simply trespass upon the husband's property rights, seduction or rape is a violence to the parents' property in daughters, and wifehood is but enslavement to the husband's will. Of course, many artful and strong-minded wives manage to get their own way with weaker spirited husbands up to a certain degree. Miss Kingsley remarks on this in her usual vein: "Many a time have I seen a lady stand in the street and let her husband know what she thought of him, in a way that reminded me of some London "slum scenes."¹ But in times of real domestic crisis the husband is apt to reassert his rights in ways more forcible than delicate, and in so doing he is supported by public opinion, including that of other wives in the community.

Polygamy prevails universally, and so deeply rooted is it in the whole social fabric that missionaries have found it scarcely possible to bring over their converts to monogamy. "Polygamy," says Miss Kingsley, "is the

¹ "Travels, etc.", p. 225.

institution, which above all others, governs the daily life of the native. . ."¹ The more wives a man has the more wealthy and distinguished he is, and the greater is his labor-supply. A reason everywhere assigned for plurality of wives is the existence of a custom which forbids a wife to receive her husband during pregnancy or while she is suckling a child, this being continued until the child is two or three years old.² While this custom could not have given rise to polygamy, being evidently a concomitant development, yet once established it now operates powerfully against the decline or abolition of that institution.

Nor must it be supposed that the women dislike polygamy. They are only too well satisfied with it, the missionaries find, and resist monogamy with discouraging vehemence. The more wives, the less work for each, say they. Furthermore, there is social distinction in being the wife of a man who has twenty other wives, and such a woman looks down with contempt upon her lower class sisters, who share conjugal rights with only three or four co-wives. Little friction seems to arise among these plural wives. In explanation of this fact, however, Ellis says: "No jealousy prevails among the women, because their affection, if they have any for their lord and master, is quite passionless, and borders on indifference."³ Waitz thinks that another reason for the absence of domestic disorders is seen in the fact that there is always a head-wife, to whom all the rest are subordinated, and whom in the absence of the husband

¹ "Travels, etc.", p. 212.

² Ellis, "Ewe-speaking peoples", p. 206; Kingsley, "Travels, etc.", p. 212.

³ "Ewe-speaking peoples", p. 207.

they obey.¹ The custom which requires the husband to live for a time with each wife in succession in her own hut, also furthers the maintenance of peace and conjugal fidelity.

Adultery among these people can only be defined, says Ellis, "as intercourse with a married woman without the consent of her husband, for the men can and do lend their wives, and the latter do not seem to have the right to refuse compliance."² Many times was Du Chaillu embarrassed by the earnest proffer of wives by chiefs along the route of his journeys, this being done in strict accordance with their rules of hospitality. He relates how on one occasion his friend, Quengueza, in a fit of generosity, unable to prevail upon his distinguished guest to accept a wife during the time of his visit, actually turned over all his wives to Du Chaillu's men, and they by no means had their white employer's scruples.³ Nor did the wives on such occasions feel any other sentiment than a kind of chagrin at their rejection by the white guest, his explanation being wholly beyond their understanding.

In fact, these peoples have no conception of chastity as a virtue in itself considered. Ellis says :

"An unmarried girl is expected to be chaste because virginity possesses a marketable value, and if she were to be unchaste her parents would receive little or perhaps no head-money for her. . . . A man who seduces a virgin must marry her, or, if her parents will not consent to the marriage, must pay the amount of the head-money. In the latter case, her market value having been received, any excesses she may commit are regarded as of no consequence."⁴

In purchasing wives the substance of the transaction is everywhere the same. On the Gold Coast, for in-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

² "Ewe-speaking peoples", p. 202.

³ "Journey to Ashango-land", p. 76.

⁴ "Tshi-speaking peoples", p. 286.

stance, the fact of purchase is veiled under a form of present giving. According to MacDonald, when a young man desires a girl for his wife, he makes known his wish to her parents. If they agree she is given to him. But the man must then give a number of "presents," so-called, to the parents. In Sierra Leone, three cows and a sheep, or their equivalent, are expected.¹ Further south, where there are no cattle, the presents consist of various articles such as decorative ornaments, weapons, provisions, etc. As a general thing, however, wives are secured by purchase outright, accompanied, in many cases, by all the higgling of the market, though custom usually fixes a rough average price. Thus a man may have as many wives as he can pay for and look after. Ordinarily there are from two or three up to ten or fifteen, except in the case of a big chief or king, who is likely to have scores of them. The king of Ashanti counted his wives by the hundred, and in the court of Dahomey there were several thousand.

According to the native code of morality it is only the wife who can commit adultery, the husband being at liberty to do as he pleases. The adultery of a wife is punished with varying severity, from the infliction of a beating (most common among the masses), up to expulsion and death. The latter is rare, and only occurs among those of rank and wealth. Frequently the nose or a hand is cut off.² The paramour is punished by having to pay a fine, or if the wife belongs to a distinguished chief, is liable to death. If unable to pay a fine, the culprit may be sold as a slave in order to raise

¹ Waitz, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

² *Idem*, p. 115. He says: "Da die Frau durch die Ehe ganz Eigenthum, ein Vermögenstheil des Mannes wird, ist die Ansicht natürlich dass nur sie, nicht aber der Mann strafbaren Ehebruch begehen kann."

the amount. Hence has risen a curious practice, which still further illustrates the laxity of West African notions. "Many husbands," says Ellis, "encourage frailty on the part of their wives, hoping to profit by the sums they may be able to exact from their paramours."¹ This practice extends throughout all West Africa, and is quite common. Women of the royal family in Ashanti and Dahomey are permitted to intrigue with men of fine physique, "in order that their kings may be of commanding presence." Miss Kingsley states that among the Bantus the laws against adultery are severe, but their enforcement is lax.²

Clearly, then, sexual purity among the Guinea natives does not rest upon any regard for chastity as such, but merely upon property ownership. The man must be compensated for any liberties taken with his wives or daughters. This done, the matter is ended. The student of West African life finds in the writings on this subject abundant evidence, which need not be repeated here, that very little restraint of the sexual proclivities is exercised. Indulgence commences at an early age, and continues thereafter with but little impediment.

For this state of things there is probably a good reason. The mortality in West Africa is frightful. Wars, slave-raids, executions for witchcraft, pestilence, famine, ignorance and neglect in the care of young children, etc., all combine to make the annual drain upon population by untimely death an appalling percentage. To maintain existence there must be a proportionately high birth rate. For hundreds of generations therefore, those tribes among whom fertility was greater have tended to sur-

¹ "Tshi-speaking peoples", p. 286. See also Waitz, *op. cit.* p. 114.

² "Travels in West Africa", p. 497.

vive in the ceaseless rivalry with those less characterized by such traits. It seems likely, therefore, that selection has developed in the race exceptionally strong reproductive powers.

Herein seems to lie an explanation of certain problems of morality, which are to-day the despair of well-wishers of the negroes. It has surprised some that the negroes thrive and multiply, wherever transplanted within warm climates, in spite of close contact with superior civilization—an experience that seems fatal to most other races of low culture. If strong sex instincts and great fecundity were essential under African conditions to the preservation of race, it is only to be expected that these traits should prove excessively developed when civilized conditions of life are substituted. In questions of race preservation the issues are so vital that Nature is not to be turned hither and thither even at the demand of civilizing reformers.

The family relations are those usually obtaining among peoples of very backward development. The father and his children are bound by very weak and uncertain ties, while the mother's affection, though much stronger, declines as the children reach full maturity and independence. The description given by Bosman of the way children are brought up in West Africa, is possibly a little strong in coloring, but in the main accords with the general idea conveyed by all other writers that touch upon the matter. He says :

“ Let us see how they educate their children, with whom the men never trouble themselves in the least, nor the women much, indeed : the mother gives the infant suck for two or three years, which over, and they are able to go, then it is—turn out, brats ; if it be hungry she gives it a piece of dry bread, and sends it abroad wherever it pleases, either to the market, or to the sea-side to learn to swim, or anywhere else. Nobody looks after it. nor is it anybody's business to

hinder its progress. These children are as well contented with dry bread as ours with all manner of delicacies ; they neither think of nor know any delicacies, nor are their mothers troubled with them, but do their business undisturbed ; when, on the other hand, if our children can but go alone we are continually perplexed with thousands of fears of some or other accidents befalling them." ¹

The contrast here drawn between the easy-going indifference of African parents and the constant sense of care and solicitude on the part of civilized parents reveals a most significant fact.

There is one singular and striking exception, however, to the general absence of deep affections between family relatives ; that is the mutual love of mother and son. This by comparison with all other ties is, as Miss Kingsley states, a strong and enduring one. Either will support the other as long as able to do so. No explanation of this anomaly is vouchsafed. The Rev. Leighton Wilson says :

"Whatever other estimate we may form of the African we may not doubt his love for his mother. . . . He flies to her in the hour of distress, for he well knows that if all the rest of the world turn against him she will be steadfast in her love, whether he be right or wrong." ²

Miss Kingsley cites this, too, with approval. ³

The bearing of children involves little inconvenience or deviation from routine daily life. A few hours after her child has been born, the mother usually goes to the nearest water to bathe. It is a custom widely prevalent in West Africa, that children born with teeth already cut, or twins, are thrown into the bush to die. In some parts the mother of twins is driven out to perish in the jungle. When a mother dies, Miss Kingsley tells us that "very young children they do not attempt to keep, but throw them away in the bush

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 388. See also MacDonald, p. 39, and Waitz, pp. 122-3.

² "Western Africa," p. 116.

³ "West African studies," p. 373.

alive, as all children are thrown, who have not arrived in this world in the way considered orthodox."¹ Du Chaillu somewhere tells of coming across the emaciated body of a young woman in the forest, who, it was explained, had been driven out from her village for some superstitious reason.

Among the Bantu tribes, the practice prevails of

"helping the old and useless members of the village out of this world by a tap on the head; their bodies are then carefully smoke-dried, afterwards pulverized, then formed into small balls by the addition of water, in which Indian corn has been boiled for hours; this mixture is allowed to dry in the sun or over fires, then put away for future use in the family stew."²

Lacking the cannibalistic feature, this practice of getting rid of burdensome individuals, is found everywhere, particularly in times of military stress or threatened famine. This holds true to less degree of rich families, since they are better able to sustain all of their members, yet even they are none too scrupulous under pressure.

Beyond the immediate family relations, the West African recognizes few obligations in control of conduct.

"The individual is supremely important to himself, and he values his friends and relations and so on, but abstract affection for humanity at large or belief in the sanctity of the lives of people with whom he is unrelated and unacquainted, the African barely possesses."³

Within his own village, persons and property are protected after a fashion by customs amounting to law, but beyond the village all such protection vanishes. A stranger is fair game, wherever met, unless it may be that his tribe is feared as a powerful and dangerous enemy. And even within the village circle, affliction

¹ "Travels, etc.", p. 471. See also appendices to the same, pp. 487, 538, 557.

² *Idem*, Appendix I, by M. De Cardi, pp. 565-6.

³ Kingsley, "West African studies", p. 177.

and suffering rarely elicit any sentiments of pity or sympathetic benevolence.

Descriptions of West African life abound in illustrations of these characteristics. All travelers there find it necessary to guard portable articles very closely, or suffer certain loss. Speaking of the Slave Coast natives, Bosman said: "The Negroes of the Gold Coast are very thievish, but are not to be compared with these. They are acquainted with an hundred several ways of stealing, which would be too long to relate here. I shall only add that no person can provide against them."¹ And of the Lower Guinea natives, Miss Kingsley says that stealing is "a beloved pastime—a kind of game in which you only lose if you are found out."² Du Chaillu was frequently well nigh at his wits' end to prevent the steady disappearance of his goods, as they were being carried daily by native porters or canoe-men.

Deception is even more common than theft. Ellis sums up this matter well, when he says that they

"rarely go straight towards the end they wish to attain, but seek to compass it by subterfuges and devious methods. Concealment of design is the first element of safety, and as this axiom has been consistently carried out for generations, the national character is strongly marked by duplicity. The negro lies habitually; and even in matters of little moment, or of absolute indifference, it is rare for him to speak the truth."³

Of the Lower Guinea people, Du Chaillu says: "Lying is thought an enviable accomplishment among all the tribes, and a more thorough and unhesitating liar than one of these negroes is not to be found anywhere."⁴ Cheating in trade is universal and cannot be prevented. This is one of the most serious drawbacks to doing

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 482.

² "Travels, etc.", p. 312.

³ "Ewe-speaking peoples", p. 11.

⁴ "Equatorial Africa", p. 437.

business with the natives. Bosman is moved often to speak of "the villainous rascality" met with in attempting to trade in Upper Guinea. The rubber brought down to the coast to sell throughout Lower Guinea is almost invariably adulterated. In a word, the natives do not understand any such thing as commercial morality, and so they instinctively seek every opportunity to get something for nothing by lying, stealing, cheating, browbeating, or adulterating. Yet it has been noted in many instances where the white man has firmly asserted an ascendancy over a few personal attendants or employees, and followed every delinquency with swift and unerring discipline, that the natives, instead of becoming sullen and cunningly vindictive, came to have the greatest respect and attachment for him, and exhibited a fidelity to his interests never otherwise secured among West Africans. Du Chaillu found that as long as he was merely kind and considerate with his porters, they cared less for him and his fate than when he assumed an attitude of despotic power, asserted his will with decision, and brooked no dilly-dallying or deception, on pain of death on the spot. They then seemed to have a sort of pride in their master, boasted of the very qualities in him which compelled their obedience, and parted from him with sorrow at the end of a tour. It is always the strong-minded, uncompromising, governor or officer along the coast who becomes the most popular with the natives, and is most heartily sustained by their public opinion. Otherwise they are only contemptuous, and they cheat, steal and make trouble.

There is little regard for the life and freedom of those not members of the same village. We have seen how, even within the village itself, the lives of the weak are

very little valued. When it comes to outsiders, any excuse is good enough for making away with them. Traders from the interior bringing goods down to the coast are in ceaseless danger of their lives from the intervening tribes; and when robbery occurs no adverse witness is ever left alive.¹ The universality of the custom that the host should taste food and drink before offering it to a visitor, or the wife before giving to her husband, reveals in a startling manner the frequent use of poison. It has been said that "the most prevalent disease in the African bush comes out of the cooking pot," meaning that victuals are poisoned.² All this, and more besides, takes place in time of peace, and the horrors of their warfare well nigh surpass description.

To a European witness of native fighting, the destruction of life is appalling. Whole villages are swept out of existence, and their inhabitants either slain on the spot or reserved for sacrificial purposes or slavery. The march homeward of a victorious army or marauding party is, for the captives, an ordeal which words fail to picture. Several missionaries, who saw the return of the Ashanti army with its spoils of war, mostly prisoners, describe the scene as follows:

"The men, who were tied together in gangs of ten or fifteen by ropes round the neck, and presented a pitiable spectacle, were followed by the women, young and old, some with infants on their backs, and others leading little children by the hand, who crouched in terror at their mothers' sides, and were threatened and struck by the cruel spectators. On the day of their arrival fourteen Wassaw men were sacrificed at Bantama to the manes of the former kings of Ashanti."³

In another Ashanti war of conquest, as Ellis states,

¹ Kingsley, "Travels, etc.," p. 315.

² *Idem*, Appendix I, by De Cardi, p. 560.

³ Ellis, "A history of the Gold Coast", p. 291.

thousands of men, women and children were slaughtered. The conquest of the Whydahs by the king of Dahomey did not mean their subjection as tributaries, but their utter extinction. The massacre continued for many days, and then large droves of them were driven to Dahomey to survive till such time as they were wanted for the sacrifice.¹ These conquests on a large organized scale are seen only in Upper Guinea, where are found the only strong consolidated kingdoms among West Africans. But among the scattered tribes of Lower Guinea, each including a few villages, an intermittent warfare consisting of forays, marauding expeditions or fights between small groups, goes on constantly.

We are prepared to believe that the African has almost no sensibility to suffering in others, nor compassion for them. Such refinements of the social spirit have never been developed among these peoples. Ellis thinks that their constant familiarity with bloody scenes of torture and death in connection with religious ceremonies or witchcraft executions, has rendered them exceptionally callous and pitiless in the presence of human agony and pain. The exhibition of sentiments of pity by white persons is a standing puzzle to them. After a description of some of the frightful cruelties practised upon war prisoners, Ellis tells that

"the Ashantis were much surprised that the missionaries should exhibit any emotion at such spectacles; and, on one occasion when they went to give food to some starving children, the guards angrily drove them back."² He adds further: "Nor is it to prisoners and aliens alone that such barbarity is exhibited by the northern tribes, for an equal indifference is shown to the sufferings of their own people. Servants or slaves, who may fall sick, are driven out

¹ Capt. Wm. Snelgrave, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-19.

² "Tshi-speaking peoples", p. 173.

into the bush to die or recover as best they may ; and the infirm or helpless are invariably neglected, if not ill-treated. In the village of Abankoro the missionaries saw an orphan boy about five years old, who went about unnoticed and reduced to a skeleton. He was thus neglected because he could not speak, and was regarded as an idiot. He cried for joy when some food was given him, and the kindness of the missionaries to him astonished the people." ¹

Such incidents might be cited almost without end from the various accounts of West Africa.

The lowest level of unsocialized feeling and practice is seen in cannibalism, which once prevailed almost universally, but is now confined within certain tribes. It is noticeable that new arrivals upon the coast from the unknown and isolated interior regions, *e. g.*, the Fans and Dahomians, are cannibals. De Cardi says it was a common thing to see human flesh offered for sale among the natives of Old and New Calabar, before the practice was stamped out under British administration.² It survives in disguised forms here and there throughout Lower Guinea, but has practically disappeared in Upper Guinea outside Dahomey, and even there is declining under foreign influences.

It must be added in fairness that an impulsive kindness often lights up somewhat the gloomy picture. Occasionally is met an instance of deep and permanent affection, and sudden fits of benevolent good will are frequently seen, for the race is after all a good humored one when fear or cupidity are not aroused. The pages of Du Chaillu, Miss Kingsley, Livingstone, and others afford not a few examples of unexpected kindness and fidelity, but they also are full of stories of profuse protestations of love and good intention, afterwards wofully

¹ "Tshi-speaking peoples", p. 173.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 557-8. Miss Kingsley says that "sacrificial and ceremonial cannibalism is nearly universal."

belied by actions. Fickle and unstable, the moods of the West African are seldom to be trusted long. The attitude taken toward white aliens is hardly a good test, in any case, of the normal state of feeling among themselves.

Passing to the consideration of the more important occasions for social ceremonial, the first in point of importance and universality among the festivals is that of the "Yam Custom", celebrated every year as soon as the priests have pronounced the yam's ripe. Yams are a dangerous food until thoroughly matured, hence the custom that none may eat them till the priests have word from the gods that they are ripe. Obviously this is in the nature of a sanitary law. When the restriction is removed, there is great rejoicing and a desire to celebrate the occasion. The ceremonies usually last a week, the priests officiate as principals, and the kings or chief men assist. Human sacrifices are certain to be offered, and this festival, says McDonald, "furnishes the opportunity for the wildest exhibitions of native license and passion. Theft, intrigue, and assault are all forgiven during the continuance of the feast."¹ This description of the Yam Custom, to judge from other accounts, is none too strong, for it seems to be everywhere a time when public opinion winks at anything, and the whole population gives itself up to an orgie of sensual indulgence.

At the "Annual Customs" the kings or chiefs of tribes do honor to the manes of their departed ancestors.² Again human sacrifices, proportioned in num-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 50. See also De Cardi, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

² See Ellis, "Ewe-speaking peoples", pp. 129, 168-9; also Kingsley, "West African studies", pp. 146-8.

ber to the wealth and power of the ruler, are in order, and offerings of food and valuables of all kinds are made besides. At this time tributary tribes, if there are any, are expected to send representatives to make fresh acknowledgements of submission, and bring tribute. Any cases for judicature, appealed to the king or head chief from lower officials, are brought forward and settled.

Besides these larger public festivals, there are lesser celebrations on the occasion of the three chief events in every individual life, birth, marriage, and death. Livingstone says that "the chief recreations of the natives of Angola are marriages and funerals."¹ These are times for gathering together in crowds and making an inconceivable hubbub. The African's love of noisy demonstration is alluded to frequently by all travelers in West Africa, sometimes good humorously, but sometimes resignedly, as if they had been worn out with it. Miss Kingsley is moved to exclaim: "Woe to the man in Africa who cannot stand perpetual uproar! Few things have surprised me more than the rarity of silence and the intensity of it, when you do get it."² Du Chaillu was often tormented almost to distraction with the bedlam of noises kept up all night long.³ Moonlit nights are a time for white people to avoid their villages, for then the whole population remains up till long after midnight, shouting, singing, dancing, and having an uproariously jolly time. MacDonald remarks, philosophically: "It is a

¹ "Travels in South Africa", p. 446.

² "West African studies", p. 62.

³ "Equatorial Africa" pp. 134 and 237; "Ashango-land", p. 283.

part of West African nature ; nothing can be done without noise.”¹

The ceremonies connected with birth, while showing local variations in details, in substance are everywhere the same. Ellis thus describes them :

“As soon as a woman discovers herself to be pregnant she offers sacrifice to the tutelary deity of the family, and a priestess binds charms about her wrists, ankles and neck, at the same time invoking the god to avert ill-fortune. . . . During the act of parturition she remains seated on a country stool, surrounded by a number of female visitors, before whom it would be considered exceedingly disgraceful to utter any cry of impatience or pain. . . . The child, after having been washed, has charms bound round it to avert misfortune.”²

The mother is considered unclean for a week afterwards, but at the expiration of that time she resumes ordinary life. At the end of three months she again makes offerings to the tutelary deity, and then dressed in her choicest ornaments and accompanied by a band of singing women, she visits her neighbors, and there is much rejoicing over her safe delivery.

“Eight days after the birth, the father of the new-born child proceeds with some of his friends to the house where the mother is, and they there seat themselves in a circle in front of the entrance. The child is then brought out and handed to the father, who returns thanks to the tutelary deity.”³

Often he names the child at this time, but in some parts it is the priest who gives the name. Until very recently it was the custom in some tribes to bury a woman's tenth child alive, while the mother was obliged to isolate herself completely for a year.

A marriage ceremony is a still more elaborate affair. Marriageable age is determined solely by physical development, and is usually between the twelfth and four-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 227.

² “Tshi-speaking peoples”, p. 232.

³ Ellis, “Tshi-speaking peoples”, p. 233.

teenth years. At that age the girl is taken to the water-side and washed; offerings are made to the phallic gods, she is attired in the best that her family can afford or borrow, and accompanied by singing girls, is conducted through the village with all possible publicity. Thus her availability as a wife is fully advertised, and it is seldom that suitors are long to be waited for. A suitor having been accepted, he pays over the price agreed upon or sends presents, and the marriage takes place. In preparation for the marriage festival, the groom sends to the bride's home a stock of intoxicants (palm-wine usually), tobacco and pipes, as well as food for a feast. The coming event is heralded abroad with all possible noise and pomp. Finally the feast takes place and is shared in by all the relatives of both parties, "who keep up an orgie," as Ellis terms it, "for many hours." If the husband finds that his wife has been unchaste, and chooses to reject her, he may do so, and demand the return of all that he paid for her.¹

Still more attractive than marriages in the eyes of the natives are funeral rites. There seems to be about such an occasion a morbid excitement and interest which is fascinating to the negroes. If the deceased person is of any consequence, the entire village takes part in the ceremonies attending the event. Miss Kingsley says:

"To provide a proper burial for the dead relation is the great duty of the negro's life, its only rival in his mind is the desire to have a burial of his own. But, in a good negro, this passion will go under before the other, and he will risk his very life to do it. He may know, surely and well, that killing slaves and women

¹ For marriage ceremonies see MacDonald, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-5; Ellis, "Tshi-speaking, etc.", pp. 234-7, "Ewe-speaking, etc.", pp. 155-7.

at a dead brother's grave means hanging for him, when their Big Consul hears of it, but in the Delta he will do it. On the Coast, Leeward and Windward, he will spend every penny he possesses, and on top, if need be, go and pawn himself, his wives, or his children into slavery to give a deceased relation a proper funeral."¹

This willingness to reduce themselves to beggary, and even to slavery, rather than seem delinquent in furnishing a thoroughly stylish funeral to any member of the family, is a fact attested by all observers in West Africa.²

The natives find it very difficult to realize and admit the presence of death or to distinguish death from sleep or some form of temporary insensibility. The consequence is that, in spite of the warm humid climate, they unfailingly retain the corpse unburied until decomposition has proceeded so far as to give no possible escape from the conviction that death has occurred. If a person is dying or insensible from any suspicious cause, endeavors are made, by the most violent methods, to keep the spirit from leaving the body, or else to recall it.

"Pepper is forced up the nose and into the eyes. The mouth is propped open with a stick. The shredded fibres of the outside of the oil-nut are set alight and held under his nose, and the whole crowd of friends and relations, with whom the stifling hut is tightly packed, yell the dying man's name at the top of their voices, in a way that makes them hoarse for days, just as if they were calling to a person lost in the bush or to a person struggling and being torn or lured away from them. 'Hi? hi! don't you hear? Come back—come back? See here. This is your place', etc."³

As soon as it is certain that the person is dead, the ceremonies begin. They last from two or three to seven or eight days, according to local habit and the rank of the deceased. The family abstain from food as long as possible, but may drink as much as they like, and usually do drink immoderate quantities of palm

¹ "Travels, etc.", p. 491.

² See Livingston, *op. cit.*, p. 466, *et seq.*, and Ellis, "Ewe-speaking, etc.", pp. 161-2.

³ Kingsley, "Travels, etc.", p. 471.

wine. They shave off the hair. Moanings and weird wailings proceed continually from the crowded hut, where the body, after being washed and dressed in full costume, ornaments and all, is propped up in a sitting posture on a stool, and receives the visits of numerous friends and relatives. They address the corpse again and again, reproaching the spirit for having gone away, and giving vent to the loudest lamentations. At intervals the hubbub is hushed, while some female relative offers food to the corpse, beseeching it to take and eat. All watch eagerly, and upon its failure to comply, the lamentations break out afresh. During all this there is a crowd outside as well, sitting about, smoking and talking. Presents to the visitors are always expected, and this renders the occasion very expensive to the family.

At last, when restoration to life is found hopeless, and due honors have been offered, the body is buried. The coffin is large enough to contain various articles valued during life, as well as food and drink. The grave is dug in the earthen floor of the hut itself, and there the coffin is lowered, the earth filled in, and all is smoothed over as before. While widely prevalent, this is not a universal custom, for Du Chaillu found that certain tribes in equatorial Africa had cemeteries at a little distance from the village, where the coffins were merely placed on the surface of the ground, never interred.¹ These native cemeteries present a gruesome spectacle. The custom of burying corpses under the floors of dwelling places is being strenuously put down by European administrators, but only with exceedingly great difficulty.²

¹ "Ashango-land, etc.", pp. 132-3. See also Kingsley, "Travels, etc." p. 481.

² MacDonald, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

Some of the tribes, as for example, the Fans, have neither coffins nor graves for the reason that their corpses are disposed of as food. Where there are scruples against eating the body of a fellow-villager, it is sold to another village or exchanged for another body from elsewhere. In comparatively minor details there is much variety in funeral rites from one locality to another, and many of the customs are curious and interesting, but not germane to our present subject.

CHAPTER VI.

GOVERNMENT, LAW, AND MILITARY SYSTEM.

Political development in West Africa is on a par with the low stage attained in all other directions. The population, for the most part is in a thoroughly unintegrated condition politically, the largest units of government, with two exceptions, embracing only a few neighboring villages, united by ties of blood. Outside the states of Ashanti and Dahomey, the natives have not risen to the conception of holding conquered enemies as tributaries, thus building up large political units. The vanquished tribes are extinguished by slaughter or held as slaves.

Of the state of affairs in Lower Guinea, where the least governmental development is found, an excellent description in brief form is furnished by M. De Cardi :

“A tribe is composed of a king and a number of chiefs. Each chief has a certain number of petty chiefs under him. Perhaps a better definition of the latter would be, a number of men who own a few slaves and canoes of their own, and do an independent trade with the white men, but who pay to their chiefs from 20 to 25 per cent. as tribute. . . . This collection of petty chiefs with their chief forms what in Coast parlance is denominated a House.”¹

The head of “the house” usually lives in some central village; branch villages are under the immediate control of petty sub-chiefs. In many respects this organization is patriarchal, the semi-nomadic character of the people heightening the resemblance.²

¹ *Op. cit.*, 475.

² Waitz says : “Bei den meisten Negervölkern zeigen die politischen Einrichtungen in mancher Hinsicht einen patriarchalischen Character.” See his “Anthropologie”. II, p. 127. Also Du Chaillu; “Equatorial Africa”, p. 377.

The privilege and authority of the chief depend largely upon personal force or wealth. While the office is to a certain extent hereditary, "the right of succession vesting in the brother of the reigning chief or king," yet the heir must maintain his leadership, for should another of more force arise, the people may desert or grow restive. If a chief is strong-minded and shrewd, he may rule with a high hand, particularly when he secures the support of the priests or medicine men. The latter have much to do with all government in West Africa, and in many regions¹ are feared by both chiefs and subjects. There are scores of tribes where the chief is in close collusion with the priest, and together they have everything their own way, no common man daring for a moment to complain, much less resist.

There have not been wanting, however, instances of governments almost republican in form. Bosman describes one or two such existing in his day (latter half of the seventeenth century) along the Upper Guinea coast. He says :

"The government of Axim consists of two parts, the first whereof is the body of Carboceros, or chief men ; the other the Manceros, or young men. All civil or public affairs which commonly occur are under their administration ; but what concerns the whole land, and are properly national affairs, such as making peace or war, the raising of tributary impositions to be paid to foreign nations, that falls under the cognizance of both parts or members of the government ; and on those occasions the Manceros manage with a superior hand, especially if the Carboceros are not very rich in gold and slaves, and consequently able by their wealth to bring over the other to their side." ²

But the significance of these rare and small examples of

¹ For a good illustration, see the story of Ja Ja, King of Opobo, told by De Cardi, *op. cit.*, p. 528, *et seq.*

² *Op. cit.*, p. 405.

primitive self-government is very slight. In population and importance, the single kingdom of Dahomey would far outweigh them all combined.

In the exceptional cases of Ashanti and Dahomey, are seen crudely developed states with tributary peoples. The kingdom of Ashanti consists of Coomassie, the district in which the conquering tribe lived, and a number of tributary provinces, divided in turn into sub-provinces of a few villages each. These are ruled by chiefs and sub-chiefs respectively, all of whom owe allegiance to the king at the capitol, Coomassie, and pay tribute to him. Ellis says :

“The power of the king is curbed by a council. . . . It is composed of the king, the queen-mother, the chiefs of Bekwae, Djuabin and Mampon, the general of the army, and a few of the principal chiefs of Coomassie. This council possesses absolute power, and rules the entire kingdom. In important matters the provincial chiefs of the second rank are summoned to Coomassie for consultation, but this is really a nominal concession, for the council is so much feared that no individual would venture to vote counter to its known wishes.”¹

The government is in reality an oligarchy, kept very exclusive, and without limits to its power over life and property. The people of the tributary provinces are often harshly treated.

Land is held under a crude feudal system. “The land of a tribe as a whole is attached to the stool [throne] of the king, and cannot be alienated from it.”² By the king it is parcelled out among the chiefs, and by them in turn is allotted to the free men, the latter being obliged in return to answer every call to arms. Ellis says :

¹ “Tshi-speaking peoples”, pp. 276-7.

² *Idem*, p. 298.

"The military organization is the same amongst all the Tshi-speaking peoples, the whole of the men capable of bearing arms being divided into town companies. The companies are under the direct command of the captains, whose office is hereditary and the captains owe direct allegiance to the chief of their district." ¹

Each soldier on the mobilization of the army is expected to provide his own commissariat.

Among the peoples next east of the Tshis, *i. e.*, the Ewes, political organization is much like that just described. But Dahomey is, in several respects, worthy of particular notice. It presents a case of unusually developed irresponsible despotism. Snelgrave and Norris tell us that the people there were cowed into abject servility.² Under foreign influence matters have improved, but formerly it was the theory that all property belonged absolutely and immediately to the king, who could at any time dispose of it as he chose. The person of the king was so sacred that he was regarded as a demi-god. "The king", says Norris, "never eats in public; it is even criminal to suppose that he ever eats, or that he is so much like other mortals as to want the refreshment of sleep."³ In approaching him even his chief officers crawl on the ground and kiss the ground repeatedly. Every day in the year must show fresh bleeding heads at the entrance gates to the palace, in order to impress all with the power of the king. His revenue is largely derived from direct taxes and from imposts on trade, from numerous gifts always made by the chiefs and others at the festival of the Annual Custom, "when all the provincial chiefs, the head men

¹ "Tshi speaking peoples", p. 299.

² "New account of Guinea", ch. i; and "Bossa Ahadee", first section.

³ "Bossa Ahadee", p. 105.

of villages, the heads of families, and traders, must attend at the capital and bring presents proportionate to their condition."¹ All prisoners of war belong to the king and are disposed of at his command; also the property of all persons condemned to death or slavery reverts to him. Yet these legitimate revenues do not suffice him, and every device is used to extort more from an unresisting people. For example, it being unlawful for any one to wear cloth of the particular kind worn by the king, he frequently comes out suddenly in some style of cloth (supplied now by Europeans), which is being innocently worn by many subjects, whereupon they are seized and made to pay fines. In short, the King of Dahomey is a thorough-going despot, ruling without other limitation than the patience of an awed and spiritless people.

The Dahomian military system has interesting peculiarities. A standing army is maintained, consisting of two parts, a male corps, and a female corps, commonly known to Europeans as the "Amazons."² In case of need this force is supplemented by all males capable of bearing arms. The Amazons number nearly 3,000 and the male corps about 5,000, but when the entire available military force is called out it reaches 15,000 or 16,000. Dahomey women, accustomed to heavy work and hardship, make nearly as capable soldiers as the men. War is the chief pastime, as well as means of constantly recruiting the supply of victims for sacrifice and slaves. Whenever the king wishes to take the field against some out-lying tribe, he sends for his chief military officer and says, "My house needs thatch",

¹ Ellis, "Ewe-speaking peoples", p. 170.

² Ellis, "Ewe-speaking peoples", pp. 182-3.

meaning that the skulls which line the inner walls of the palace must be replaced by new ones.¹

The methods employed in wars, whether large or small, throughout West Africa are substantially the same : to worst the enemy by stealth and treachery. Having decided with all possible secrecy to attack a certain village, the assailants fall upon its sleeping or unsuspecting inhabitants, slaying instantly all who resist or cannot move rapidly, and taking captive the remainder.² More courage to fight in the open is displayed by Ashanti and Dahomian warriors, but the treatment of captured populations is everywhere the same. After the ruthless slaughter of every individual, too old, sick, or defective to be of value, the homeward march begins ; little or no food is supplied the captives, and all who faint by the wayside are despatched or abandoned to die.

Since the natives possess no form of writing, even of the most primitive sort, no such thing as written laws or records is known. In reality, law is a misleading term to use in connection with these simple folk. What one finds is merely a few customs and usages, having nothing of the precision of written law. So accustomed are we to a highly developed legal system and judicial procedure, that it is difficult to refrain from projecting into our notions of primitive law and judicature a definiteness of structure and function not really found there. De Cardi makes the suggestive remark :

“ One often hears people who know a little about West Africa talk about native law, but they forget to mention, if they happen to know

¹ Ellis, “ Ewe-speaking peoples,” p. 188.

² Their warfare is well described by Du Chaillu, “ Equatorial, etc.,” p. 57, *et seq.*

it, that in a powerful chief's house there is only one exponent of the law, and that is the chief himself; for him native law begins to have effect only when it is a matter between himself and some other chief or combination of chiefs, whose power is equal to or superior to his own."¹

Thus in every case among the common people the chief may interpret the law and the facts almost to suit himself.

The principal customs regulating property and personal relations after a crude fashion may be presented in brief space.² There is no private property in land. In Ashanti and Dahomey, to be sure, there is a sort of feudal system, but elsewhere, semi-nomadic habits still prevailing, land is hardly thought of as property. Wherever a village is located for a time, the people use the land in communal fashion. Some tribes, which have become fairly settled and populous, have a few simple regulations with reference to land holding, such as the rule that where a man can get access to his plot of ground only by passing through that of another, the latter must be paid a small consideration for the right of way.

The African's sense of proprietorship in some other things, however, is keen enough. He counts his wealth chiefly in women and slaves, with other things as subsidiary. Yet, curiously enough, wives and slaves may themselves hold property in their own right. If a wife becomes involved in a "palaver," she and her family alone are held responsible, not the husband. By a "palaver" is meant a trial before any native court, *i. e.*,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 536.

² For detailed information see Kingsley, "West African studies", chap. xviii; "Travels, etc.", pp. 485-500; Ellis, "The Tshi, etc.", pp. 280-305, "The Ewe, etc.", pp. 199-228; Bosman, *op. cit.*, p. 404; Waitz, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

before a chief. In West African annals the word "palaver" occurs with extreme frequency, for the people are very litigious.

Thieving is punished by a fine, and the stolen goods or their value must be restored. Occasionally, when the theft is large or accompanied by exasperating circumstances, the punishment is death. As to the collection of debts, Miss Kingsley says :

"The methods employed in enforcing the payment of a debt are appeal to the village head-man or village elders ; or, after giving warning, the seizure of property belonging to the debtor, if possible, or if not, that of any other person belonging to his village will do. This procedure usually leads to palaver, and the elders decide whether the amount seized is equal to the debt or whether it is excessive." ¹

Interest is always charged and at enormously high rates, owing to the great insecurity of credit. From 25 to 50 per cent. is the ordinary rate, calculated on brief periods of a few months. Interest is charged also on stolen goods for the time elapsing till their restoration, a custom which often leads losers by theft to delay prosecution.

The succession of property is through the female, a survival of the time when paternity was too uncertain to be relied upon in tracing blood kinship, as it still is for no small portion of the population. The children of one mother belong to her and go with her in case of separation from her husband, a small payment for each being made to him by the wife or her family. A man's property is inherited by his uterine brother, or failing a brother, then by the eldest son of his oldest sister. If there is neither brother nor nephew, then, in some tribes, the property goes to a son, in others, to the principal native-born slave. In Dahomey, however, and one or

¹ "West African studies", p. 435.

two other cases, among the nobility only, primogeniture has become the rule.

Slavery, having existed from time immemorial, is bound up with the whole social and economic organization of West African society. There are, broadly speaking, three kinds of slaves: those captured in war, those purchased from outside the tribe—usually from the interior,—and the native-born slaves. All alike are mere chattels, and by law are absolutely subject to the master's will without redress. But in practice a difference is made, for obvious reasons, between native-born slaves and captives taken from hostile tribes. The latter are numerous, and the severest forms of labor fall to their lot. They are treated with constant neglect and cruelly punished on the slightest provocation. Their lives are at no time secure; they serve as victims for the sacrifice; when sick they are driven into the jungle; in times of scarcity they starve.

Native slaves are those born in slavery, or are tribe members sold into slavery for debt or non-payment of fines, or are children sold by their parents—a frequent practice among the poor. Much more consideration is shown for the native born slaves. They are even accorded the privilege of holding property in their own name, so long as they behave with proper humility toward their masters. Implicit obedience being at all times required of the slave, he can never be held accountable before the law for any action. It is the owner alone who is responsible to others. As the owner, however, has the power of life and death over all slaves, he is apt to deal harshly with any slave who gets him into trouble.

The pawning of persons for debt is exceedingly common. If the debt is never paid in full, the pawn and

his descendants become slaves in perpetuity. Meantime the services of the pawn count nothing toward the discharge of the debt. Neither parent may pawn a child without the consent of the other, and in the case of the wife, her relatives also must be consulted. A woman pawned to a man becomes a concubine, and her children belong to him. Not the master of a pawn-slave, but he who put the person in pawn, is responsible for his actions.

Crimes against the person are usually punished by fine. Murder involves the forfeiture of life, unless the criminal or his family can pay the compensation fixed and demanded by the relatives of the murdered person. To be successfully accused of any species of witchcraft, means certain and horrible death. No distinction is made between injury caused unintentionally and that resulting from deliberate purpose. This fact reveals in a striking manner the primitive nature of West African ideas regarding law and judicial procedure.

It may be well to warn the reader against interpreting the above description too rigidly. Europeans, it is said, require years of residence to learn that their precise ideas of law and administration have no existence in the native mind. They find that native justice is a travesty, that witnesses lie with marvelous facility, that the wealthy bribe freely, and that the judges, *i. e.*, ruling chiefs, are actuated in giving judgments by all manner of private considerations. The necessity of conveying notions of primitive human societies through the medium of a vocabulary associated in our minds with things found only amid advanced civilization, is in many ways unfortunate for the accuracy of our conceptions.

CHAPTER VII.

PSYCHIC NATURE.

The discussion of so subtle and complex a theme as the psychic nature of a race, requires the utmost caution. Still, the more significant mental traits, those which are distinctive, may be detected with a fair degree of accuracy. Where many independent observers have received the same impression regarding any point, we may accept that as likely to be correct. So intimately correlated is a people's outer life with its inner constitution, that in describing the former many revelations of the latter are given. From the external life we can infer the psychic nature, just as students of extinct peoples are able to learn much from surviving remains of language, literature, etc. In the foregoing chapters, however, the references to this subject have been too scattered and incidental to give a rounded, complete conception.

On surveying the low culture of West African natives for significant mental products, the first and most striking facts noted are of a negative character. They have no writing, and nothing more than the rudiments of pictorial art, out of which writing is a later development. The nearest approach to a representation of form and color is seen in the idols, kept in fetish huts, and worshipped by some of the Lower Guinea tribes.¹ The goldsmiths of the Gold Coast exhibit considerable ingenuity

¹ Du Chaillu, "Equatorial Africa", pp. 183 and 278-80. These idols are made of wood, rudely shaped into something like human form, and sometimes smeared with color in true impressionist style.

in the fashioning of rude ornaments, and several tribes have produced ivory carvings of curious patterns. Among many tribes one finds not even the traces of a notion of pictorial or plastic art. The musical temperament of the natives has led to greater development in that direction. On the whole, however, it is clear that they have made scarcely a beginning in the arts.

Does this extreme backwardness reflect an inherent deficiency in psychic endowment, or is it due rather to the lack of education and incentive? The latter view is held by many, who believe that civilization may be communicated to such races by the same educational process as is used in training up the rising generation of a civilized people. According to this view, races differ but little in potential capacity, and nothing but wise education is needed to accomplish within a few generations, what the slower process of self-development requires many centuries to achieve. But the widening knowledge of mankind, which anthropology in all its branches is now supplying, the numerous instances of decay and extinction among backward peoples, suddenly called upon to accept civilized life, and a better understanding of the way in which great capacity is brought into being by evolution, are rendering it constantly more difficult to accept this view.

Rather does the evidence from many sources tend to show that psychic nature is developed in close correlation with external conditions, and is unable to respond quickly on the advent of new and highly exacting conditions. Disintegration of the lower culture sets in, but is not replaced *pari passu* by sound development of the new ideas and institutions. The rise of complex industry, of written literature and science, of the fine arts, means the appearance of new criteria or agencies of

selection; these, reacting upon a people, fit them by slow healthy progress for still higher things. The entire absence of these agencies in Africa probably means something deeper, therefore, than a mere lack of education for the living generation. It implies that the psychic nature has never been enlarged and refined by selection in response to a progressive environment, and so remains inferior to that of peoples long subjected to the stress and struggle of rapidly advancing standards. Let us proceed to consider the characteristics they present.

Our knowledge of certain of the relations between the mind and its physiological basis in the brain may be taken as fairly established. Although some have set much store on comparison of brain weights, it is felt by conservative anthropologists that the difficulties of using this criterion are too great for it to be of much value.¹ Cranial capacity, however, offers one not so open to objection. It has been found that in this respect the Australian aborigines stand lowest, Africans next, Mongolians next, and highest of all, Caucasians. Reference to tables given by Topinard, shows that while the cranial capacity of the European ranges from 1,550 cubic centimeters upward in the male, and 1,350 in the female, that of the West African ranges from 1,430 and 1,251 respectively.² Tylor quotes figures from Professor Flower, giving a mean cranial capacity of 79 cubic inches for the Australian, 85 for the African, and 91 for the Caucasian.³ Nowhere is it questioned that the

¹ See Topinard, "Anthropology" p. 313; Keane, "Ethnology", pp. 42-3.

² *Idem*, p. 230. See also "Precis d'Anthropologie", by Hovelacque and Herve, pp. 239-42.

³ "Anthropology", E. B. Tylor, p. 60.

Negro possesses less cranial capacity than the Mongolian or Caucasian.

But more significant than this, perhaps, is the qualitative comparison of structure and texture in the brain. Topinard says that in the African the secondary convolutions are less complex and rich in minute structure than in the European.¹ Professor A. H. Keane cites with approval the dictum of Waitz: "That the convolutions in the negro brain are less numerous and more massive than in the European appears certain."² Keane himself reaches the conclusion that mental energy and capacity depend most intimately upon "the sinuosities or convolutions of the inner white substance, and especially upon the cellular tissue of the thin outer cortex or envelope of grey matter, which follows all the inner convolutions, with which it is also connected by an exceedingly complex nervous system."³ It is in these structural differences that the greatest significance no doubt lies.

One other factor greatly affecting ultimate mental development, is the length of the period of immaturity, during which the mind remains plastic. Keane says: "The development of cellular tissue, with a corresponding increase of mental power, apparently goes on till arrested by the closure of the cranial sutures. All the serratures are stated to be more complex in the higher than in the lower races, and their definite closing appears to be delayed until a later period in life amongst the former than amongst the latter. This physiological character has recently been noticed by two intelligent observers, Col. Ellis among the Upper Guinea peoples; and Capt. Binger among the West Sudanese generally. 'The black is a child', says this writer, 'and will remain so'; and the sudden arrest of the mental faculties at the age of puberty is attributed to the closing of the sutures."⁴

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 309.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

³ *Idem*, p. 44.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 44.

There seems much probability, too, in the opinion of some, that the marked development of sexual activity among West Africans, with the arrival of puberty, absorbs energy at the expense of mental force. Ellis whose opinion is referred to above, writes as follows :

"In early life they evince a degree of intelligence, which, compared with that of the European child, appears precocious ; and they acquire knowledge with facility until they arrive at the age of puberty, when the physical nature masters the intellect, and frequently completely deadens it. This peculiarity has been attributed by some physiologists to the early closing of the sutures of the cranium, and it is worthy of note that throughout West Africa it is by no means rare to find skulls without any apparent transverse or longitudinal sutures."¹

The fact that African children learn easily until the age of puberty, but fail to progress after that time, may be due to another consideration apparently overlooked by the above writers, viz., the difference in the character of knowledge to be acquired in earlier and later stages of education. In the earlier stages it is chiefly the perceptive and imitative faculties, together with memory that are required, but relatively little of the higher faculties of abstract reasoning. These conditions become gradually reversed, however, as the student advances into highly elaborated realms of knowledge. That the African begins to halt on reaching this later stage of acquisition, may be owing to the want of a quality of mind not to be found in brains of coarser texture.

What Captain Binger says, writing contemporaneously with Ellis, but quite independently of him, throws so much light on the point under discussion, that it is well worth quoting in full.

"L'Enfant, par suite des travaux multiples et fatigants auxquels la mere est forcée de se livrer, est bien en retard sur celui des pays civilisés. Porté sur le dos jusqu'à l'âge de deux à trois ans, époque a

¹ "Ewe-speaking peoples", pp. 9-10.

laquelle il est sevré, le bébé ne peut rien apprendre, le mere ne lui causant jamais, de sorte qu'il ne commence réellement à parler qu'à trois ans et demi ou quatre ans. A partir de cette époque, son intelligence se developpe avec une rapidité surprenante : il a une mémoire extraordinaire et il est capable d'apprendre tout ce qu'on lui enseigne ; il est aussi bien doué que les enfants européens de son âge. Malheureusement, aussitôt qu'il atteint l'âge de la puberté, tout developpement intellectuel cesse. Cet arrêt complet se produit presque brutalement ; non seulement son intellect reste stationnaire, mais je dirai qu'il diminue ; le memoire s'en va ; d'eveille et d'intelligent qu'il etait, il devient sot, méfient, vaniteux, menteur, dans cette periode, qui quelquefois dure deux ou trois ans, il n'est assimilable qu'à un etre tout a fait inférieur. A cet arrêt intellectuel doit correspondre, dans ces regions, la soudure de la boite cervicale, le developpment du crane s'arrête et empêche le cerveau de se dilater davantage." ¹

In whatever aspect, therefore, we consider the physiological basis of mental power, whether as to size of brain, or its inner structure, or the length of its plastic period, the natives of Guinea are at a grave disadvantage in comparison with the Caucasian.' The low stage of their culture can hardly be deemed the accidental effect of external conditions, for it has its counterpart in the inner constitution of the race. This is what we should expect, knowing that selection operating through many generations brings about a close physical and psychical adaptation of the organism to its environment. We have seen what the West African environment is, and it is obvious that no great industrial system, no science, and no art could be self-developed there in the first instance ; but it is also plain that without the rise of these secondary agencies of selection, the psychic nature could never be adapted to grasp

¹ " Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée ", Paris, 1892, t. 2, p. 246.

² Miss Kingsley, it is true, cites the crafty shrewdness of the adult African as somewhat belying this. But crafty cunning is not the same as high intellectual capacity. See her " Travels, etc. ", p. 672.

such attainments. The consideration of the general laws of biologic evolution would thus lead us, aside from the evidence above adduced, to believe that the mind of a lower tropical race is unfitted to assimilate the advanced civilization of a strenuous and able northern race.

Yet it would be hasty to conclude that the West Africans are incapable of progress. Though below the modern Caucasian in capacity to master vast knowledge, to handle intricate machinery, and to carry on self-government, they may be able to profit from judicious education and to respond to new stimuli to exertion. With the advent of new standards of efficiency, selection would operate to bring forward those best fitted to the new régime, provided that competition of abler peoples did not enter upon the scene so soon as to overthrow and crush all alike. As for obvious reasons this seems unlikely to happen in torrid West Africa, its inhabitants may have a creditable future before them. Where portions of the race have been removed into other regions, and placed in the midst of able and strenuous competition, the case is altogether different.

The temperamental qualities of the race present some marked and interesting peculiarities. In common with all peoples of low culture, the West Africans are unstable of purpose, dominated by impulse, unable to realize the future and restrain present desire, callously indifferent to suffering in others, and easily aroused to ferocity by the sight of blood or under great fear. More peculiar to themselves are a pronounced aversion to silence and solitude, a passionate love of rhythm in sound and motion, an excessive excitability, and utter lack of reserve.

Nothing so well reveals high development or is so vital to the welfare of a great society as the power to bridle passion, steady the emotions, and keep fixedly to a definite purpose. Infirmary of will means weakness at the root of life. Now, the West Africans give evidence of a marked deficiency in will power throughout every phase of their existence. Their intense emotions, their strong sexual passion, their cupidity, their erratic impulses, are continually breaking control, even at the cost of immediate disaster. The white man from the north, far-seeing, sure-footed, and iron-willed, at first witnesses their infatuated rashness with exasperated amazement, but in the end with resigned patience.

Illustrations of this weakness are strewn thickly through all works on West Africa. A pen-picture of store-keeping in that region is given by Miss Kingsley :

“ Whether the native is passing in a bundle of rubber or a tooth of ivory or merely cashing a *bon* (a local check on the store) for a week's bush catering, he is, in Congo Français, incapable of deciding what he will have, when it comes to the point. He comes into the shop with a *bon* in his hand, and we will say, for example, the idea in his head that he wants fish-hooks—‘*jupes*’ he calls them—but, confronted with the visible temptation of pomatum, he hesitates, and scratches his head violently. Surrounding him there are ten or twenty other natives with their minds in a similar wavering state, but yet anxious to be served forthwith. In consequence of the stimulating scratch, he remembers that one of his wives said he was to bring some lucifer matches, another wanted cloth for herself, and another knew of some rubber she could buy very cheap, in tobacco, of a Fan woman, who had stolen it. This rubber he knows he can take to the trader's store and sell for pocket handkerchiefs of a superior pattern, or gunpowder, or rum, which he cannot get at the mission store. He finally gets something and takes it home, and likely enough brings it back in a day or so, somewhat damaged, desirous of changing it for some other article or articles. Remember, also, that these Bantu, like the negroes, think externally in a loud voice ; also, like Mr. Kipling's ‘*oont*’, ‘he smells most awful vile’, and . . . accompanies his observations with violent dramatic gestures ; and let the customer's tribe or sex be what it may, the custo-

mer is sadly, sadly liable to pick up any portable object within reach, under the shadow of his companions' uproar, and stow it away in his armpits, between his legs, or, if his cloth be large enough, in that." ¹

The difficulties encountered by Du Chaillu every time he started from an African village with his train of porters are thus described :

"When all was arranged—when everybody had taken leave of all his friends, and come back half a dozen times to take leave over again, or say something before forgotten—when all the shouting, and ordering, and quarreling were done, and I had completely lost patience, we at last got away." ²

Here we have the violently excitable, demonstrative negro, garrulous to the last degree and absolutely heedless of time. Wherever a number of them are together, and they are never seen otherwise, they raise "a perfect word-fog," as Miss Kingsley calls it. Every emotion finds instant and unreserved expression. In joy, in grief, in anger, it is always the same—infinite and unwearied volubility. Tylor notes the perplexing fact that, with no great differences in climatic or physical environment the Indian of Brazil is dull and stoical, while the negro of West Africa overflows constantly with "eagerness and gaiety." ³

This impulse to a lively, noisy sociability, moulds the racial habits in many ways. Regardless of temperature, there must invariably be blazing fires at night in each village, around which the crowd may gather and make merry. Bright moonlight is always the signal for all-night carousals, accompanied by infinite noise in the shape of tom-tom beating, gun-firing, native music and dancing, etc.

It is but another phase of inconstancy that the West African is never long weighed down by sorrow or mis-

¹ "Travels in West Africa", p. 204.

² "Equatorial Africa", p. 76.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

fortune. His cheerfulness seems irrepressible. He is incapable of nursing long the feelings of anger or revenge, let the provocation be what it may. Barbot remarks that the natives seem "very little concerned at misfortunes, so it is hard to perceive any change in them," and he goes on to say :

"When they have gained a victory over their enemies, they return home dancing and singing, and if they have been beaten and totally routed, still they dance, feast, and make merry. The most they do in the greatest adversity is to shave their heads and make some alteration in their garments : but still they are ready to feast about graves, and should they see their country in a flame, it would not disturb their dancing, singing and drinking ; so that it may well be said, according to some authors, that they are insensible to grief or want."¹

At the first news of death or disaster there is an outburst of demonstrative grief, but in an amazingly brief time none could tell that anything gloomy had happened. In the moment of discovering a great wrong or injury, there is an outburst of fierce anger, which in a few hours or days, at most, subsides into the habitual easy-going mood.

They are passionately fond of music, and it exerts a very great influence upon their lives. They have several kinds of rude musical instruments. Easily first among them all is the tom-tom, a drum made of a hollow section of log with a skin stretched tightly over one end. The tom-tom accompanies the army to the field, the corpse to its grave, the bridegroom to his wedding, the royal embassy on its journey. Not a festival of any kind can proceed without it. Beaten in rythmical fashion, and with an art that to the native expresses definite ideas, its power over him seems irresistible.² Du Chaillu says :

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 235-6.

² See Ellis, "Tshi-speaking peoples", pp. 326-7 ; Kingsley, "Travels in West Africa", p. 181.

"It is curious what a stirring effect the sound of the tam-tam has on the African. It works upon him like martial music does upon excitable Frenchmen; they lose all control over themselves at its sound, and the louder and more energetically the horrid drum is beaten the wilder are the jumps of the male African, and the more disgustingly indecent the contortions of the women."¹

They have other instruments, horns made of elephant tusks, hollowed out and with holes flute fashion, so that various notes can be blown; also complex instruments, consisting of calabashes of different sizes, with orifices tightly covered with stretched skins; and a few other devices of similar character for producing musical notes.²

Music is used, says Ellis, "with three objects, *i. e.*, to stimulate the religious sentiment, the military spirit, and the sexual passion. In the first case the priests have early seen its influence, and have applied it to their own purposes; chiefs and rulers utilize it in the second case, and the youth of the towns and villages in the third, when the drums sound for moonlight dances."³ Their numerous dances are invariably accompanied with music and singing. The religious dances, performed by the priests and their special devotees, are wild rhythmic leaping and movements of the body, accompanied by facial contortions, expressive, in the eyes of the people, of possession by a spirit. The popular dances chiefly appeal to the sexual nature. Barbot thus describes them:

"The men and women who are to compose the dance divide themselves into equal numbers and couples, opposite to each other, and forming a general dance, they meet and fall back again, leaping, beating their feet hard on the ground, bowing their heads to each other, and snapping their fingers, muttering some words at times, and then speaking loud; then whispering in each other's ears, moving now very slowly and then very fast; men and women running against

¹ "Equatorial Africa", p. 236.

² For more detailed accounts of their musical instruments, see Barbot, *op. cit.*, pp. 264-5; Kingsley, "West African studies", pp. 64-6; and Ellis, chapter on "Music" in his "Tshi-speaking peoples."

³ Ellis, "Tshi-speaking peoples", p. 326.

each other, breast to breast clapping their hands together, throwing their elephant's tail at one another or clapping it about their shoulders." ¹

Somewhat refined of its grosser features, this dance survives on American soil as the modern negro "cake-walk." In West Africa, however, these dances exhibit all degrees of sex suggestion, and to civilized whites they appear indescribably indecent. Du Chaillu found himself irresistibly moved to depart from the scene of more than one dance especially given in his honor, although he ran serious risk of offending his hosts. No description of the dances could be ventured in his books.² These facts are further evidence of the great power in this tropical race of sexual instinct which dominates even the most public festivals.

The racial existence of the Guinea native for ages in the jungles of torrid Africa has given time for the processes of adaptation to do their full work undisturbed. Physical or mental energy have never been exacted or favored by the conditions, nor a genius for searching out labor-saving devices; foresight and self-mastery have not been vital amid prodigal nature and loosely organized society; and so, the Negro in his original habitat has been bred to a happy-go-lucky, improvident existence. For him life is to be taken light-heartedly, never minding the disaster of yesterday or forecasting to-morrow's trouble. He is attracted irresistibly to music and uproarious gaiety, and the more sex suggestion in it the better. When anger or fear arises, the tiger in him is out in a flash and somebody dies a bloody death. At all times and under all circumstances, he carries his emotions on his face and tongue, passionately loves companionship, and forgets each day's sorrow with the sunset.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 275.

² See "Equatorial Africa", p. 110 and pp. 176-7.

PART II.

THE NEGRO UNDER AMERICAN SLAVERY.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL NATURE OF THE CHANGE.

The foregoing study of West African life indicates the nature of the stupenduous task to which our country, during colonial days, was slowly committed. With a continent before them to conquer, our fathers were so in need of labor that they could not be particular in their choice; mere unintelligent muscle, if subject to their direction, would serve the purpose. When the slave trader appeared, offering brute muscle from Africa, economic pressure triumphed over humanitarian scruples, and continued, for over two centuries, to pour into Caucasian society a stream of African barbarism.

“Previous to the year 1740”, says Bancroft, “there may have been introduced into our country nearly one hundred and forty thousand; before 1776, a few more than three hundred thousand.”¹ The census of 1790 revealed the presence of 756,208 blacks, about 17 per cent. of the aggregate population. By 1850, there were 3,638,808, constituting slightly over 16 per cent. It would appear, therefore, that during the period of slavery, about one-sixth of our entire population were West Africans, by birth, or but a generation or two removed.

It must be noted that the importation of negroes from the Guinea coast did not cease until after the Emancipation Proclamation, less than forty years ago.

¹ “History of the United States”, Centenary ed., vol. ii, p. 551.

Prof. W. E. B. Du Bois has shown that the Act of 1807, forbidding the trans-Atlantic slave trade, "came near being a dead letter."¹ In 1836, the consul at Havana reported that "whole cargoes of slaves fresh from Africa were being daily shipped to Texas, . . . that the rate was increasing, and that many of these slaves could hardly fail to find their way into the United States."² During the fifties, as Du Bois shows, the trade increased in volume, and thousands of raw Africans were smuggled into the country every year. These facts are confirmed by John R. Spear, who shows, largely from naval records, that the efforts to stop the contraband trade were utterly inadequate, and many streams of black humanity trickled into the country at various points till the fall of the Confederacy.³ The present writer has heard an eye-witness describe vividly a group of natives, just from Dahomey, seen near an Alabama town shortly before the war. It is a matter of common knowledge in the South that negroes were not infrequently met at that time who could not speak English.

If importation had entirely ceased in 1808, as provided by the Constitution, matters would have been very different. Two generations of negroes would have grown up uncontaminated by fresh infusions of savages, and we should have escaped the burden of assimilating after 1863 no small number of negroes so recently from Africa that they were totally unprepared for their new privileges and responsibilities. They were a bad leaven mingled with the more Americanized negroes.

¹ "The suppression of the slave-trade", New York, 1896, p. 199, *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 165.

³ "The American slave-trade", by John R. Spear, New York, 1900.

But, in any case, the task of civilizing the population drawn from Africa was a truly gigantic undertaking. Both destructive and constructive work was required. It was necessary to uproot and destroy polygamy, bloody religious rites, and the like, but it was vital that these things should be replaced by monogamy, Christianity, and other civilized institutions. Opposed to the accomplishment of this profound change were two forms of resistance, viz., physical heredity and post-natal or social heredity. By the latter is meant the transmission of ideas and habits from parent to child by example and teaching. The overlapping of generations secures the continuity of this external inheritance, and while it may be modified far more easily than physical heredity, its resistance to change is very great.

Between the inner constitution, transmitted physically, and the outer habits of life, transmitted socially, there arises during a thousand generations of undisturbed existence a delicate adjustment. When, therefore, the attempt is made to replace one stream of social heredity by another infinitely more exacting, the inner nature controlled by physical heredity cannot respond successfully to the new demands. This sudden readjustment, however, the African on our soil has been called upon to make, at first under compulsion, then by persuasion and assistance. Yet his physical heredity could not possibly be modified on demand to suit the new requirements. While he was a slave the white man could suppress the uprising proclivities, born of other conditions, but could not entirely uproot them. In two ways only could an inner transformation be wrought: (1) by the slow operation of selection, and (2) by race amalgamation.

But the Negro's social heredity was immediately and powerfully affected by the change of environment undergone. When missionaries endeavor to civilize savages the difficulties are greatly heightened by the fact that a change in manner of living is demanded, while the environment remains the same. But the negroes transplanted to this country no longer moved amid the accustomed sights and sounds of their native land. That deeply rooted association of ideas and habits with the background afforded by nature in West Africa, was broken up violently. This rendered much easier the abandonment of traditional customs and the fading from memory of former teachings. This process was greatly accelerated by the complete disappearance on American soil of all tribal differences. The individuals newly arrived from Africa could not understand each other's language or minor habits.

The negroes were promptly subjected in this country to positive and constructive forces of two kinds : (1) the deliberate efforts of the slave owner to enforce new habits by discipline, and (2) the unconscious influences of example and suggestion, calculated to act with peculiar power upon an imitative and susceptible race. It was not alone what the master did with express intention or what the slave did under compulsion, which tended to alter the latter's character ; indeed, it is likely that the healthiest development achieved by him grew out of what passed into his life from above by unconscious processes, which were therefore natural rather than artificial.

CHAPTER II.

SELECTION.

In voluntary migrations, like those of Europeans to America, there is a process of selection, whereby the new region receives a population slightly above the original average in force of character. Only those who have initiative, strength of purpose and courage, will leave the land of their birth for unknown parts. Physically, too, such persons are likely to be sound and full of energy. The push, efficiency, and daring temper of Americans are by many believed to be due in part to this fact. In view of this, it becomes interesting to ascertain how the case stood with those who came from Africa.

The method by which Africa was drawn upon to supply the American labor market led to the most drastic selection that the world has ever seen. Of every thousand natives captured in the jungle only a handful of the hardest lived to put foot on American shore. This fearful "elimination of the unfit" was due in part to the attitude and methods of the slave-traders, and in part to the African's utter indifference to human suffering and death. In all history there are few passages to equal this in gloomy horror, but it is necessary for us to examine it, for its results abide among us.

With insignificant exceptions the first work of gathering slaves was done not by white men, but by negroes themselves. With no sense of race solidarity, and perfectly callous, the West Africans felt no compunction in selling off their own kind into foreign slavery. They were accustomed to enslaving their enemies, to selling fellow tribesmen for debts or fines, and to pawning or

selling their wives and children. On the appearance of the white man, offering many tempting commodities in exchange for these war-captives and slaves, a brisk trade sprang up. But as the demand for slaves rapidly outgrew the supply thus provided by the older methods, there developed far and wide a system of deliberate slave-hunting. The powerful tribes overwhelmed the weaker ones, petty kings or chiefs conducted forays against isolated villages, and bands of slave-catchers lay in wait at every path and plantation to entrap unwary stragglers. We have noted above on what a scale the kings of Ashanti and Dahomey carried on such work.

When a village was captured, all who were judged non-salable to the white trader, *i. e.*, the aged, the infants, the sick, and the defective, were at once slaughtered. This was in accord with former custom, but the selection was harsher. On the march to the seaside, little food was given, and the captives were pushed forward with all possible speed. Every one becoming weak or ill was promptly killed or abandoned. By the time the slave-ships were reached, all who fell below a certain rude standard had been eliminated.

Next ensued the expert sifting done by the "factors" or middlemen, who bought from the native sellers either as agents, or on their own account in order to sell again to the ship captains. They were far from accepting all the human material offered. By long experience they had become expert in detecting unsoundness or defects, and they subjected every individual, male and female, to minute examination and shrewdly devised tests; in the end there were several classes to accord with a scale of prices, and all who fell below the minimum standard

were rejected.¹ These soon found a grievous end. We are told that "an African factor of fair repute is ever careful to select his human cargo with consummate prudence, so as not only to supply his employers with athletic laborers, but to avoid any taint of disease, . . ."² No ship company wanted to load its vessels with "perishable freight," if it was avoidable.

After the thorough sifting before embarkation came the "middle passage," a test of such severity that a cargo rarely reached America without losing a heavy percentage.³ Densely crowded together, fed just enough to keep body and soul linked, depressed with vague terrors of the unknown future, only the hardiest could endure till the end. All weakness or disease that had eluded the vigilance of the buyers in Africa, was sure to be eliminated during this ordeal.

In view of these facts, it is probable that the negro stock landed in America was physically superior to the average of that left behind. No doubt many were permanently broken in health, but it could not have been so with any large proportion, or the trade could not have flourished as it did. It is probable that the great majority, being by nature the soundest and strongest, quickly recovered and transmitted to their offspring their congenital qualities. The conclusion seems justified that the Negro began his American career with an important advantage, secured, however, at frightful cost.

But it would be easy to exaggerate this advantage. Consideration of this process of selection shows that it

¹ See "Capt. Canot: or twenty years in a slaver", by Brantz Mayer, New York, 1854, p. 94, *et seq.*

² *Ibid.*, p. 102.

³ See the "Abstract of evidence taken before a select committee of Parliament on the slave-trade", London, 1791, pp. 38-45. Also "The American slave-trade", by John R. Spear, New York, 1900, chap. vi, pp. 68-81.

led to physical improvement alone. At every sifting the criteria of selection were those of physique. Mental and moral qualities could not be taken much into account. If in voluntary emigration there is a selection of bold and able characters, in this enforced African emigration it was the bold and able who were most likely to escape capture. In West Africa those who had initiative and energy were likely to become the hunters rather than the hunted.

To appreciate the net result of this extraordinary selection, let us imagine the entire West African population divided into four classes, and consider each in turn. First, those below normal, both physically and mentally; and second, those below par physically, though above it in mental force, would be effectually eliminated. Third, those well above the average, both physically and mentally, were apt to elude capture, and become themselves the captors. Fourth, those above average in physique, but ordinary or even under average in mental force, would, under the peculiar methods of the slave-trade, constitute the major portion of the slaves successfully shipped to this country.

In America the race came under other, though less drastic, selective forces, both artificial and natural. Inasmuch as the slaves were property, absolutely ruled by the will of their owners, the latter could largely control the relations of the sexes with a view, more or less deliberate, to securing rapid improvement of the race. In other words, they could encourage or command marriages or unions of selected partners, and discourage or prohibit unions manifestly contrary to the interests of heredity. Dr. Paul B. Barringer, of the University of Virginia, than whom few could be found better acquaint-

ed with the facts of the old regime, has laid much stress upon this significant feature of American slavery. He says :

"In a virgin land of incomparable fertility strong laborers were, of course, extremely useful, and hence much valued. Being valuable they were allowed to multiply, but under a careful selective process of breeding, which outstripped nature itself. Docility, decency, fealty, and vigor were desired, and the slave man having these attributes, with his master's 'pass', scorned the rural 'patroller', and roamed at will to replenish the earth. This selective propagation . . . not only caused the negroes to increase in numbers, but to improve in kind. . . . The laws of breeding obtained through centuries of experience with the lower animals had here found a wider and higher field."¹

This statement is confirmed by a much earlier authority, who wrote on the conditions of slavery as found during the decade immediately preceding the war. Mr. Frederick Law Olmsted,² who journeyed through the seaboard slave states about 1854, gives this unmistakable evidence of the fact asserted by Dr. Barringer:³

"A slave holder writing to me with regard to my cautious statements on this subject in the *Daily Times*, says: 'In the states of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, as much attention is paid to the breeding and growth of negroes as to that of horses and mules.'"

It would be easy to overstate the extent and deliberateness of this policy, but that it existed in sufficient force to constitute a very important factor in adapting the race to our civilized environment, cannot be doubted.

¹ See his address in the "Proceedings of the Montgomery conference on southern race problems", May, 1900.

² Olmsted's books are to-day perhaps the best sources of information to be had on the subject. His sound common sense, sanity of judgment, and remarkable freedom from prejudice, together with keen powers of observation, rendered his studies of peculiar value in view of the all but universal unreliability of other contemporary literature relating to the subject.

³ See "A journey through the seaboard slave states", New York, 1856, pp. 55-57.

The internal slave trade during the first half of the nineteenth century, led to another form of selection. During the earlier stages of this trade, and continuing with gradually diminishing force to the end, there was a moral repugnance to it sufficient to cause some excuse to be sought for "selling negroes south." This excuse was usually found in the troublesome character of the individuals thus sold. Hence the incorrigibly indolent, unruly, or criminal negroes would be selected. They were shipped to the far south, placed under the gang system of heavy labor on immense plantations, and quickly broken of their unsatisfactory habits, or else—soon eliminated. This process must have tended to improve the average moral quality of the negroes throughout the border states, and to improve the negro population as a whole, in so far as the harder conditions and more unscrupulous discipline of the far south made for the elimination of bad characters.

In West Africa the negroes had been subject to death-dealing agencies of a harsh and wasteful nature: ceaseless warfare, famines, pestilence, religious sacrifices, witchcraft executions, etc. In so far as these were favorably selective, they tended to evolve physical qualities of strength and endurance, along with a psychic nature suited to existence amid scenes of bloodshed and suffering. To meet the enormous mortality, a powerful sexual instinct and great fecundity had been developed. Not living in large compact societies, where delicate social sensibilities and refined virtues have a part in aiding survival, there had been little or no tendency to develop such characteristics.

Transplanted to America, however, the man who had special talents for killing and stealing was likely to be speedily eliminated. Such characters were now subject

to master-hands in discipline. On the other hand, he who could best adapt himself to a peaceful, industrious, and self-controlled existence, met with favor. He had decidedly the best chance to survive and propagate his kind. Thus, irrespective of the white man's intentional efforts, this kind of selection must have tended to diminish the savage and increase the civilized elements of the African race nature. But this process is a slow one, and we cannot assume that, independently of artificial agencies, it has accomplished much within the brief career of the race on our soil.

The several processes described in this chapter are such as remould a race. They do what the wisest and most strenuous education can never achieve, since this cannot touch the fundamental endowment, transmitted by germ heredity. The interval to be traversed, however, in passing from West African savagery to American civilization was so immense, that we must beware of losing true perspective in our view of the problem. Allowing the utmost that could reasonably be expected from these selective processes, there still remained at the end of slavery, a wide interval between the Negro and the Caucasian in hereditary racial character.

CHAPTER III.

AMALGAMATION.

We are accustomed to think of but one kind of amalgamation in connection with American negroes, but there have been in reality two kinds. The one was always illegitimate, did not affect the entire mass, and was of doubtful benefit, viz., the crossing of white with black. The other was legitimate, universal, and probably beneficial, viz., that which resulted from the intermingling on our soil of many tribal strains of blood, originally distinct in Africa.¹

In our Negro population as it came from the western coast of Africa, there were Wolofs and Fulahs, tall, well-built, and very black, hailing from Senegambia and its vicinity; there were hundreds of thousands from the Slave Coast—Tshis, Ewes, and Yorubans, including Dahomians; and mingled with all these Sudanese negroes proper, were occasional contributions of mixed stock, from the north and northeast, having an infusion of Moorish blood. There were other thousands from Lower Guinea, belonging to Bantu stock, not so black in color as the Sudanese, and thought by some to be slightly superior to them.

On our shores, however, all faint ethnic differences were quickly lost. The readiest means of distinguishing one from another—language, customs, and manners—disappeared, and interbreeding proceeded freely. At the close of the period of slavery, this amalgamation had brought about approximate homogeneity. The keenest

¹ Dr. Paul B. Barringer calls attention to this in his address, above cited.

and best informed observer would have found it scarcely possible to distinguish with certainty those of Sudanese from those of Bantu descent, or Tshis from Dahomians.

The conditions of slavery were peculiarly favorable to the other kind of amalgamation. So rapidly have conditions changed that it is difficult for the younger generation, even in the old slave states, to realize clearly what they were. Under the anti-bellum régime¹ nearly every household kept a superfluity of "house negroes," the number of these frequently exceeding that of the whites by half or more. Between the two groups existed an intimacy, born of the peculiar relations which bound them together. Slaves could not shift their location and occupation at will, and many lived from cradle to grave in association with the same masters and mistresses. The same house servants, year after year, witnessed with demonstrative emotions every domestic event, whether joyful or sad, and were themselves part of the household life. Their children played with the white children, and all grew up together, thoroughly acquainted with each other, and having many ties of mutual sympathy, in which on the one side there was always a matter-of-fact assumption of superiority, and on the other an equally matter-of-fact recognition of inferiority. Such relations are impossible under the shifting system of free labor.

While this intimacy was favorable to the imparting of the civilization of the white to the black, it also tended in certain ways to react unfavorably upon the white. A writer in *The Southern Cultivator* for June, 1855, says :

¹It is necessary to anticipate here slightly. The full discussion of the conditions under this régime is taken up in later connections.

"Children are fond of the company of negroes, not only because the deference shown them makes them feel perfectly at ease, but the subjects of conversation are on a level with their capacity ; while the simple tales and the witch and ghost stories, so common among negroes, excite the young imagination and enlist the feelings.¹ If, in this association the child becomes familiar with indelicate, vulgar, and lascivious manners and conversation, an impression is made upon the mind and heart which lasts for years—perhaps for life."²

This remark applied particularly to the children of overseers and poor whites, who mingled freely with the children and youth of the field-negro class.

In connection with this personal intimacy, consider the facts that the sensual negro mind turned incessantly to lascivious thoughts and impulses ; that a regard for chastity had never been developed in the race, and that the negro female, even had she under the circumstances been able to refuse compliance with any demands, too often did not desire to do so. In view of this intimacy, the sympathetic relations, and the temptations presented by the presence of a subject race, itself prompted by strong impulses scarcely controlled by a moral sense, it is clear why illicit relations came into being under slavery, became wide-spread, and important in their results.

It is impossible to measure exactly the extent of this amalgamation between white and black, for the hybrid variety thus created, shaded off imperceptibly into either pure race. So far as Olmsted could observe and ascertain by inquiry, the proportion of mulattoes to pure negroes in Mississippi and Louisiana just before the war,

¹ In her "Journal of a residence on a Georgia plantation", Fanny Kemble says on this point : "All the southern children that I have seen seem to have a special fondness for these good-natured, childish human beings, whose mental condition is kin in its simplicity and impulsive emotion to their own, and I can detect in them no trace of contempt or abhorrence for the dusky skin." See p. 194.

² Cited by Olmsted, "Seaboard slave states", p. 403.

was about one to three.¹ The proportion varying from one locality to another, probably lay somewhere between a fifth and a third of the whole colored population.

It remains to ascertain as far as may be, what were the effects upon the race. Mr. F. L. Hoffman, discussing this subject in his "Race traits and tendencies of the American Negro," says :

"It is an open question whether crossing leads to the improvement or deterioration of races. There is no agreement among high authorities. Gobineau maintains that intermixture of different races leads to final extinction of civilization. Serres and others maintain that crossing of races is the essential lever of all progress. Topinard holds that crossing of races anthropologically remote does not increase fecundity ; while M. Quatrefages holds the contrary opinion. Nott, Knox and Perrier hold that intermixture of races would lead to decay, while M. Bodichon declares the era of universal peace and fraternity will be realized by crossing. The latter opinion is shared by Waitz, Deschamps and many others."² Mr. Hoffman adds : "I have failed to find in any of the works on Anthropology a statement of facts, which would warrant definite conclusions one way or the other."

Mr. Hoffman has, however, overlooked one eminent authority, who has thrown a flood of light upon the effects of race-crossing. Dr. Paul Broca, in a masterly treatise entitled "The phenomena of hybridity in the genus homo,"³ does much toward clearing up the confusion, so well stated in the foregoing paragraph, and further makes a special contribution on the subject of Negro-Caucasian crossings.

The trouble has been, as Hoffman points out, that "past inquiries have been directed rather to establishing one theory or another as to the unity or plurality of the human race, than to the more important end of proving in a scientific way whether a race has actually been benefitted intellectually, morally, or physically by cross-

¹ See his "Journey through the back country", p. 90.

² See p. 178.

³ London, 1864.

mulatto women are delicate, distinctly infertile, and have weak children; (5) that when mulattoes intermarry they are less prolific than when crossed with either pure race.¹ Subsequently, having moved to Mobile, and then to New Orleans, Dr. Nott observed that the creole population in those districts were approximately normal in vitality and fecundity. Pondering over this inconsistency in the evidence he recalled that the creoles were a cross between Spaniards, Portuguese, and French on one side, and negroes on the other, whereas mulattoes were a cross of Negro and Teuton. The peoples of Southern Europe with their dark skins, black hair and eyes, and mercurial temperament, might have more affinity with the Negro type than the Teutons, with their fair skin, light hair and eyes, and more phlegmatic temperament. Herein Dr. Nott believed he found the explanation of the greater infertility of mulattoes as compared with creoles.²

Examining this opinion critically, Broca inquires whether other considerations might not enter into the problem. Might not the Gulf climate be more favorable than that of South Carolina to a people originally from the torrid zone? But the fact that the pure negro stock multiplied and thrived quite normally in South Carolina and even further north, indicated that this could not account for inferior stamina in the mulattoes. As Broca could detect no condition peculiar to the mulattoes, and not affecting the pure blacks equally, Dr. Nott's hypothesis appeared to be the only available explanation. Remarkable confirmation of it is found in the fact that the mulattoes of Jamaica, colonized by Englishmen, are declared by Edward Long, in "History

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 373.

² See "Types of mankind", pp. 374-5.

of Jamaica ",¹ to be under-vitalized and very infertile, whereas those of Cuba, Hayti, and Porto Rica, colonized by Spaniards, are reported healthy and prolific. Jamaica is closely similar to West Africa in climate, and pure negroes thrive there. Such facts, unknown to Nott, and derived from authors unacquainted with his theory, are very significant in its support.

Examining other instances of crossing between the primary types of mankind, and finding much corroboration for the view that such hybrids are of low stamina and fecundity, Broca reaches the following conclusions:

"That mulattoes of the first degree, issued from the union of Germanic (Anglo-Saxon) race with African negroes, appear inferior in fecundity and longevity to individuals of the pure race"; also, "that it is at least doubtful whether these mulattoes, in their alliances between themselves, are capable of indefinitely perpetuating their race; and that they are less prolific in their direct alliances than in their recrossing with parent stocks, as is observed in paragenetic hybridity."²

We are now better prepared to appreciate the force of certain facts, different from those utilized by Broca and Nott, and well brought out by Hoffman. He shows that it was the almost unanimous opinion of the army surgeons who examined negro recruits during the war, that the mulattoes were inferior in "vitality and general physical condition."³ Dr. Gould in his "Statistics of the Sanitary Commission," gives an average chest circumference of 35.8 inches for whites, 35.1 for pure blacks, and 34.96 for mulattoes; a lung capacity of 184.7 cubic inches for whites, 163.5 for pure blacks, and 158.9 for mulattoes; and a respiration rate of 16.4 per minute for whites, 17.7 for pure blacks, and 19.0 for mulattoes.⁴

¹ London, 1774, vol. ii, p. 235. This is alluded to by Broca.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

³ "Race traits, etc.", pp. 182-3.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Negro-Teutonic hybrid is more or less degenerate in physical vigor and fertility. It is true that in the foregoing discussion no account has been taken of economic and social conditions, and these often affect profoundly a matter of the kind in question. But in our country, mulattoes and pure negroes share equally in any economic and social conditions that are peculiar to the race, or at any rate, if there be differences, they are so slight as to escape detection. Immorality doubtless prevails a little more among the mulattoes, but it is a question whether this is not offset by an economic advantage, for their quicker intelligence enables them by a sort of selection to obtain better paying employments. Thus, it seems fairly safe in this particular case to accept the conclusions based upon biological data.

Amalgamation has not only physical effects but doubtless very important psychic results as well. The mulatto tends to approximate the Caucasian in cerebral structure. Hence, he exhibits more intellectual capacity and nervous energy; he is more alert and deft in movement, and has more of the Caucasian temperament. Olmsted found that slave-owners preferred pure blacks for heavy, monotonous labor, requiring only brute strength; but selected mulattoes largely for work involving intelligence and skillful hands.¹ The proportion of them seen among house servants and in positions of some responsibility was much greater than among the field hands. The same thing is to be seen to-day. The writer has observed that the porters, cooks, and waiters on a Pullman train are usually mulattoes, while the laborers in

¹ "Journey through the back country", pp. 90-1.

the gang on the road-bed outside are nearly all black. Similar examples might easily be multiplied. Hence, there is much reason to believe that among the prominent and successful colored people of our day, mulattoes constitute a much larger proportion than they bear to the colored population as a whole. Accurate information on this point, unfortunately, is wanting. The general capacity of the negro race at large for acquiring civilization is certain to be misconceived, if they are credited with the achievements of men who share in Caucasian heredity. Misconceptions of this sort are serious if they lead to mistaken policies.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHANGE IN PHYSICAL CONDITIONS.

In the two preceding chapters we have been investigating the forces that act directly upon germ heredity, determining what the individual shall be at the moment of birth and what he shall transmit in turn to his offspring. But once in the world, he immediately becomes subject to the powerful influences of his physical and organic environment, enveloping him from cradle to grave. The nature and probable effects of the changes undergone by the negroes in passing from West Africa to America we have next to consider.

Let us first get an idea of where West Africa finds its latitudinal parallel in the New World. Senegambia, Sierra Leone, and Liberia are in the same latitude as Central America; the Slave Coast with Venezuela and Guiana. Lower Guinea is opposite to Brazil, both regions lying directly under the equator. The Niger and the Orinoco, the Lower Congo and the Amazon, flow alike through territories luxurious with a tropical flora and fauna. The delta of the Mississippi lies some 1,750 miles further north than that of the Niger; an equal distance north from New Orleans carries one well into Manitoba.

To realize the contrast in climate between West Africa and the eastern portion of the United States, recall the leading facts regarding the former: the uniformly high temperature, the monotony of eternal summer, varied only by excessive humidity during three-fourths of the year and excessive dryness during the remainder. With this compare our own country. The annual

mean temperature of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and southern Texas ranges about 65° , with a mean temperature of about 80° for July and from 40° to 50° for January.¹ The isotherm indicating 55° annual mean temperature passes through Washington, Cincinnati and St. Louis; that of 50° passes through or near to New York, Pittsburg, and Omaha. To get roughly the corresponding temperatures for July and January add and subtract respectively from 20° to 25° . The climate does not display well-defined periodic wet and dry seasons, nor extremes of dryness or humidity. Normal barometer readings, anywhere between the Gulf and the Lakes, average about 30.09 inches, as against 29.75 to 29.90 for West Africa.² The summers have now and then very close sultry weather, but usually a thunder-storm soon relieves that condition of atmosphere. Mildew and mould cause little trouble.

Only in the Gulf states during the hottest month of the year is a temperature experienced equal to that of West Africa, and even then the much drier atmosphere renders the heat far more tolerable to man and beast. In the more northerly tiers of states during any season the difference is very great. Further comment is unnecessary, so obvious are the many points of contrast. We know that even men from northern Europe have

¹ See charts ix, xiv and xv, in part vi of the report of the United States Weather Bureau for 1897-8.

² See the report of the United States Weather Bureau for 1891-2, part vi, pp. 438-443, and compare with Alexander, "Excursions in West Africa", pp. 116, 120, 145, etc. The barometrical readings cited for this country were "reduced to sea-level" pressures. Those of Alexander, having been taken at sea-level on board ship in West African seaports, are not very satisfactory as data for comparison with the accurate work of our weather bureau, but the writer could not find any other barometrical observations for West Africa.

found our climate peculiarly favorable to vigorous life and energetic activity, and to those from West Africa its stimulating character must have been immense. The northern states of our Union present so great a contrast for people of tropical origin, that it is possible they may never thrive there. But we have no reason to suppose that the transfer to our southern states had, so far as climatic influence is concerned, other than beneficial effects on the health of the negro. Prolonged and energetic activity, whether of body or mind, while an impossibility in West Africa, is here for a large part of the year positively incited by conditions that render a lethargic existence distasteful. It seems reasonable to think also that the variety of season, with its successive changes of natural background and associated activities, industrial and recreative, must have exerted a mild and helpful stimulus, particularly to the psychic life.¹

Human energy bears a very direct relation to the quantity and quality of nourishment obtained. It is affected by matters of clothing and housing. Finally, much depends upon the maintenance of the body in good working order, its freedom from disease, or effective cure when disease is incurred. In all these points there was a radical change in the condition of the negroes on their transplantation to this country. That this deeply influenced the race we cannot doubt.

The negroes soon became differentiated with the progress of slavery. The "house-servants" and the "field-hands" were two very distinct classes throughout the slave-holding region. The latter again may be divided into those found on the small plantations and farms of the interior and more northerly slave states,

¹ The writer does not remember ever to have seen this point brought out anywhere, but it is surely of some significance.

and those of the great plantations of the Atlantic and Gulf seaboard region. The circumstances of these classes were distinct in many respects.

No measurement of their relative numerical importance is possible. It seems likely that the proportion of slave labor retained for service in or about the household was considerably larger under the slavery régime than is now the case under a free labor system. Under the former all menial work was avoided by the whites as much as possible, and this tended to increase the amount of slave labor reserved for that purpose. The inefficiency of this labor necessitated the employment of more individuals to get a given volume of service performed. Many expressions of astonishment from northern and foreign visitors at the number of negroes used for domestic and personal service throughout the south might be cited. "The number of servants usually found in a southern family of any pretensions", said Olmsted, "always amazes a northern lady. In one that I visited there were exactly three negroes to each white, and this in a town, where they were employed solely in the house."¹ The census of 1890 showed that under recent conditions 22 per cent. of all our negro population were then employed in "domestic and personal service." We should perhaps not err very far in estimating that something like a fourth of the slaves were withdrawn from the fields for work of one sort or another connected with the white household or on the premises. How many of the remaining three-fourths were upon the small plantations, and how many on the great tobacco, rice, cotton, and sugar plantations, it is impossible to ascertain. We know only that either of

¹ "Seaboard slave states", p. 195.

these groups was large enough to constitute a very important portion of the field hand class.

The house-servants generally enjoyed much the same diet as the whites, a distinction being made in the place and manner of serving it. What was left over from the table of the whites went by custom to the kitchen for the servants, and the cooks looked well to it that a surplus was provided, either openly or surreptitiously. Where the servants were put on "rations", they were, nevertheless, pretty sure, with the connivance of the cooks, to get sundry odds and ends from the planter's profusely supplied table. To prevent this would have required an excess of vigilance beyond the patience of most masters and mistresses, and many did not pretend to attempt it. Favorite servants were sure to be indulged in this respect.¹

The diet of the field negroes was very different. It was based upon certain fixed rations, dealt out once a week or oftener. From a peck to a peck and a half of meal, with from two to five or even six pounds of bacon, according to age, sex, and severity of labor required, was the most widely prevailing ration. But in wheat-raising sections flour would replace meal, or rice in the rice-growing section. Similarly fish, oysters and beef were a prominent element of diet where they could be cheaply furnished. To this ration as a foundation were added other articles of food, varying with the seasons and with different localities. Save on very poorly managed plantations (of which there were of course not a few) there were regular allowances of vegetables in season: sweet-potatoes, Irish potatoes, "roasting ears",

¹ With regard to house-servants, see for example "White and black under the old régime", by Mrs. V. V. Clayton, pp. 38-9; also Olmsted, "Seaboard slave states", p. 421.

cabbages, beans, and peas. The addition of molasses was widely prevalent and the negroes were especially fond of it; coffee was allowed in some localities, especially during the season of heavy crop-work; and milk was supplied in many places.¹

It was an almost universal practice to allot to each cabin a small plot of ground, from a quarter to a half acre usually, to the use of which the occupants were exclusively entitled. Thus the opportunity was given to raise vegetables and fruit according to their own choice. Frequently the privilege was given of keeping pigs and sometimes even a cow. It was the exception for plantation negroes to be without poultry. In many cases, however, indolence, thriftlessness, or weariness after hard labor prevented the use of these various opportunities. Still more commonly the negroes sold their produce for money instead of consuming it themselves, a good indication that they got enough to eat free of effort on their own part. On the whole, the carefully formed conclusion of Olmsted on this matter of dietary can scarcely be very far wrong:—"I think the slaves generally—no one denies there are exceptions—have plenty to eat; probably they are better fed than the proletarian class of any part of the world".² Certainly the contrast is striking between this diet and that of the race before its removal from West Africa.

Not only did the climate of our country render complete covering of the body necessary, but our civilized

² For definite accounts of slave dietaries, see *De Bow's Review of the South and Southwest*, vol. x, pp. 325-6; vol. xiv, p. 177; vol. xxiv, pp. 324-6. Also Olmsted, "Seaboard, etc.", pp. 108-9, 431-2, and 659-60; "Journey through the back country", pp. 15, 50, and 74. The writer should perhaps state that, being a resident in the South, he has secured much information used in this and the next three chapters from persons of whose reliability he is convinced.

¹ "Seaboard slave states", p. 108.

standard of decency demanded it. Hence the Negro met here with a new experience. Great differences, however, in respect of dress were seen—differences more striking than any others, perhaps, to the casual observer. These were partly due to difference of function, as between house-servants and field-hands, and partly to differences of climate between the far southern and the more northerly slave states. No such marked differences, it may be remarked, existed as regards the amount of nourishment supplied.

House-servants as a rule were neatly and substantially dressed. Being constantly in the presence of the white household, and expected to perform direct personal services they were required to present a good appearance. On the smaller or less prosperous plantations the costumes were very plain, but rose to elegance among wealthy families in town or country. Servants always received cast off clothing and favorites received other gifts in dress. Love of display led many to spend all extra earnings or gifts of money upon dress.¹

A stated outfit of clothing was given out twice each year to the field negroes. The kind of clothing supplied depended upon climate and the financial status of the master. In the colder states heavy woolen goods were used, in the far south cotton goods were more suitable. At a minimum the semi-annual outfit for a man would be one suit of coat and trousers, two or more shirts, one pair of shoes, a felt or straw hat according to season,

¹ For detailed accounts of slave outfits, see *De Bow's Review*, vol. x, p. 326, vol. xiv, p. 177; Olmsted, "Seaboard slave states", pp. 112, 432, 688, and "Journey through the back country", p. 80; Fanny Kemble, "Journal of a residence, etc.", p. 58. In regard to this matter the writer has also made many careful inquiries of persons well acquainted with the domestic economy of ante-bellum days.

several pairs of socks, and not infrequently, underclothes. The women were supplied correspondingly, and usually received one or two gay colored handkerchiefs to tie about their heads, as was customary, particularly on Sundays or festive occasions. From the above minimum the generosity of allowance varied upward, custom requiring in many localities duplicate outfits at each distribution. Blankets were usually supplied to each cabin every second year. Among this class, too, nearly all money earned by extra work or the sale of produce was spent for articles of dress.

It was exceedingly difficult to have the field negroes maintain a satisfactory appearance. They were everywhere very hard on their clothes, partly owing to the character of the work they had to do, and partly to their heedless indifference, save on special occasions when it was desired to make a show. The art of saving wear and tear in clothes was one which this race had never acquired, and it was inevitable that they should proceed most of the time in unconscious thoughtlessness of their clothing. Seeing no clear connection between their own labor and what they received, they could not realize the cost of that which they consumed, and were without motives to avoid wasteful destruction. In consequence of these facts, unless ceaseless oversight was kept up, and supplementary articles of clothing were given out occasionally, the field hands were likely to become dirty and ragged before the next semi-annual distribution came round. This was particularly true where large gangs of them were working under relatively little attention, but not of those on smaller well-managed plantations.¹

¹ See Olmsted, "Back country", pp. 79-80; Kemble, "Journal, etc.", p. 52; Harriet Martineau, "Society in America", vol. i, p. 226, etc.

From the one extreme of neglected, ragged field-hands on the great plantations to the other extreme of refined and elegantly costumed house-servants in the wealthiest families, there were many grades. It is clear, however, that, taken as a whole, the negroes had in the matter of clothing made a long step toward civilized standards. Clothing exercises a subtle influence upon character and it is likely that ninety per cent. of the negroes, at least, would, if called upon, in 1863, to go back to their ancient habit of three-quarter nakedness, have felt as strange as they originally felt in a full costume of hat, suit and shoes.

In the matter of house-shelter we find similar improvement over any former known racial experience. Where brick or stone were to be had cheaply, the houses for slaves would be made of such material, but the typical habitation to be seen almost everywhere was the "log cabin." This was built of hewn logs, with the cracks plastered or boarded up, a clapboard or shingle roof, a chimney with a large fire-place, and frequently a porch at the front or back. Usually the cabins were ranged along one or both sides of the main road leading from the "big house," and distant from it a quarter of a mile or more. These miniature villages, suggestive of the bush villages in the African jungle, were always called "the quarters." On prosperous well-managed plantations the cabins were kept white-washed and clean and the premises were kept neat; where there was slovenly management and poor returns these matters were neglected. It is probable that the proportion of the one to the other was about the same as that of efficient to inefficient farming or business management to be seen in any industrial society. Of the better type of cabin quarters Olmsted said: "They were as neat

and well-made as the cottages generally provided by manufacturing companies in New England to be rented to their employees";¹ while Fanny Kemble tells of others which were very dirty and unkept.²

Every cabin contained one or two rooms of varying size, and very often a "loft" overhead. By way of furniture there would generally be found in each cabin, on a good plantation, a few "split-bottom" chairs, a bedstead, a plain table, a little tinware with possibly a few pieces of coarse crockery, and the utensils for fire-place cooking, with some exceptions on large plantations where the cooking for the whole quarters was done at a single place. In the far south, where the climate was very mild, the negroes had very little more use for their cabins than for their huts in Africa; they were mere sleeping places and shelters during heavy weather. Fuel was freely allowed, though the negroes went without it often enough, rather than to take the trouble to get it from the woods. Still, here as in Africa, they loved few things better than hot cheerful fires, and generally had them except where they were overdriven with work, which was not common save in a region where artificial heat was little required, *i. e.*, in the Gulf states.

In the matter of medical care and sanitation the contrast with West African conditions reaches its climax. The attempts to prevent and cure disease by futile practices resulting from the belief in malignant spirits were, under the American slave-master, put down with a strong hand. With the greatest vigilance and discipline it was a difficult thing to do, for such beliefs are

¹ "Seaboard slave states", p. 659. See also *De Bow's Review*, vol. ix, p. 325.

² "Journal, etc.", p. 30.

among the most tenacious of all elements in uncultured human nature. Yet the white man knew that unless something of his own superior knowledge regarding such matters was put in practice among his negroes, it meant temporary, if not total, loss of his laborers. An epidemic of fatal disease at the quarters involving certain and grave losses, every plantation making the least pretense of fair management had rules and regulations relative to cleanliness about the cabins, the prompt reporting of sickness to the overseer or master, and the care of patients. In serious cases a physician was called in to prescribe, and members of the white family helped in the nursing. On large plantations it was usual to select some exceptionally intelligent and trustworthy woman to remain at the quarters permanently to look after the sick, the infirm, and lying-in women. She had to report daily, and the master or overseer went the rounds each day to see that there was no evasion or secret practice of superstitions in place of the right procedure.¹

Despite the wisest rules, unless ceaselessly watched, the negroes would relapse into the old easy-going way, let filth accumulate, and disease go unattended. Fanny Kemble tells how she strove to get the negroes on her husband's plantation in Georgia to keep their cabins and persons clean and neat, but found it desperate work. They were always good-humored enough about it, and profuse in their protestations of willingness and good intentions, yet if left to themselves there was invariable

¹ See, for example, *De Bow's Review*, vol. xxiv, pp. 321-6. This account of the medical and sanitary care of the slaves is a summary of information gathered from many scattered sources, personal and documentary. Olmsted gives numerous incidental observations on the subject.

backsliding.¹ And so it was everywhere. Any laxity or inefficiency of control led speedily to a happy-go-lucky state of things about the quarters, well enough suited to the tastes and inclinations of the dwellers there, but calculated to create upon civilized eyes and noses something like the impression that is caused in West Africa by shoals of fish "drying" under the tropical sun. When the maintenance of good sanitary conditions and proper care for the sick exacted so much unremitting watchfulness and discipline, there were beyond question many who failed to carry theory into efficient practice; but as compared with the medical practice and hygiene of the Guinea Coast, it is obvious that the negroes experienced an immeasurable gain in these respects through their transfer.

The experience which the American scion of the African race underwent was on the whole one which made for better things in all directions,—better as judged from our civilized point of view, at any rate. That the tremendous readjustment required of the race as managed under slavery was not too much for it, was demonstrated by the one great fact that it multiplied as rapidly as the better conditioned white race. Other peoples in other lands have melted away on contact with civilization. The negroes were brought suddenly into the midst of a strenuous civilization, yet they thrived mightily and at the end of two centuries had increased many fold. This is after all the most reliable evidence we have that the race in its American environment met with conditions quite favorable to its survival.

¹ "Journal, etc.", pp. 30-1 and 52. A prominent Mississippian, writing in *De Bow's Review*, vol. iii, p. 420, said: "Left to themselves they will over-eat, unseasonably eat, frolic half the night, sleep on the ground, out of doors, anywhere." West Africa still lived in them!

CHAPTER V.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT UNDER SLAVERY.

More rapid, at least in its superficial action, than any of the influences hitherto discussed, was the personal influence and discipline of the white man. The social inheritance of ideas and habits, determined by ages of savage existence, dissolved and gave place to, or rather combined with, a profoundly different inheritance derived originally from northern Europe. The resulting compound was a curious and interesting one.

In a society like ours the egoistic and anti-social impulses are controlled by a marvellous mechanism of refined, unobtrusive, and spiritualized agencies, to the influence of which the members of our race are capable of responding. For every overt offender against our written and unwritten law there are thousands who go through life obedient to the subtle suggestions and dictates of public opinion, as expressed through many conscious and unconscious agencies.¹ To this standard of thought, feeling, and action, an exalted one relative to that of undeveloped societies, the individual in American society must accommodate himself or suffer.

But all our ordinary means of exerting social control over the conduct of individuals would have been without effect upon the raw population we received from the Guinea Coast. What to them were our traditions, our industrial standards, our religion, our literature and art, our monogamic family ideals, in a word, our most valued social inheritance? They had a tradition of their own,

¹ See "Social control", by Edward A. Ross, for an illuminating analysis of this general subject.

industrial standards, religion, polygamic family ideals. Appeals to their slightly developed social sensibility could elicit no response in action. They could be made to relinquish their own ancient tradition and usages and adopt the new only by force—the unremitting pressure of open, palpable, and resistless force. It might do to wait upon the slow process of missionary effort, unbacked by force, so long as the objects of such effort were far away across the sea. But with thousands of them among us, such a waiting policy involved too serious consequences.

In effect, American slavery was a vast school, in which a superior race drilled an inferior one into useful civilized life. The motive for this astonishing enterprise lay in the fact that all the pecuniary profits were to go to the teachers. Without some such strictly business motive, the teachers, though perhaps willing to help a few missionaries over in Africa, would have left the negroes undisturbed in their native habitat. They were disturbed, they were brought here, they were handed over to the American civilizer to be remodeled, on the understanding that he should receive all surplus material product above net cost—not that there was any conscious bargain to this effect, but in the outcome it amounted to this.

Without the possession of thorough mastery over the physically mature but mentally and morally childish people committed to his charge, he could not have dared to receive them into his community. Hence, these two features, profit and control, were fundamental in the system of slavery, yet they inevitably led to many defects and positive evils. Many of these the thoughtful slave owner realized as keenly as any one, and many he did not. On the other hand, he came to

know some things by long experience, which were never rightly comprehended by others not similarly experienced. We are not, however, interested primarily at present either in his point of view or that of his critics, but in that of the negroes themselves. What did it all mean eventually to them?

In his motherland the Negro received a very poor heritage of industrial knowledge and habit from the society that enclosed him. He was acquainted with but few labor-saving tools, and did not comprehend the principle of reaching ultimate ends by indirect means, greatly economizing labor. He never saw people hurry to save time. He was accustomed to make women do all inglorious drudgery. In the day of plenty he gorged himself, and trusted to luck to escape in the day of scarcity. In short, he was the very antithesis of the strenuously energetic, ingenious, and thrifty American.

Yet it was this indolent child of the tropics, of all people in the world, whom an ironical destiny cast into the midst of a great industrial society. It was a critical experience for the race, and probably only the fact that the white man's self-interest led to the protection and training of his Negro property during a transition period of several generations, preserved the latter from fatal consequences. As it was, the negro's industrial deficiencies did not bring upon him the results which most probably would have occurred under free individual competition. What happened was that these evil results came to inhere in the industrial system as a whole, of which his labor was made the basis, and made it weak in competition with that founded on efficient white labor.

The negro's incompetency was by no means the only weakness of American slavery, regarded as an institu-

tion for the production of wealth, or as a great industrial school for the negroes. In failing to proportion reward to effort, and offering little incentive to labor except fear, it was unfavorable to the inner development of character. Whether other incentives, powerfully felt by white men, would have proved efficient in urging the negroes to overcome their distaste for steady labor, may be questioned. Still, their absence seems an unfortunate feature of slavery. These incentives were to some extent furnished by the custom of allotting small patches of ground to families for their own use and benefit, and by the fact that a slave might retain all money earned by extra work, after completing the quota required by his master, or that he received for produce, poultry, eggs, etc., raised by himself. Many profited by this fact.

A grave industrial defect in slavery was the absence of any motive in the slave to economize in consumption or to handle tools with care. It seemed of no consequence to the negroes if things were rapidly worn out or recklessly destroyed. This fostered the heedless habits of the race. The only counter-check to this lay in those privileges already mentioned, which provided them a marginal opportunity to earn some money of their own, and so become interested in preserving it carefully.

The industrial evils of the system, above alluded to, were certainly fundamental and militated strongly against the sound improvement of race character. Nevertheless, some remarkable results were attained, so that the negroes were incomparably better prepared for free competition amid our people in 1863, than when they left the slaver's deck.

All those slaves reserved for domestic and personal service about the master's household enjoyed exceptional advantages in being constantly under the direct personal supervision of the whites. The kind of work assigned to them, too, requiring the exercise of intelligence, skill and alertness, tended to develop those qualities.

The female servants employed were cooks, with their assistants or apprentices, house-maids, nurses for the young children, sewing-women engaged in making up the large quantities of clothing required each season, dining-room waitresses, etc. In wealthy households it was common enough for the blacks to exceed the whites in number. It may seem that with so much help at hand the life of a white mistress must have been an easy one. In reality it was far otherwise. The organization and daily direction of all this labor-force usually was a sore burden to the mistress. She had to give out daily provisions to the cook, cut out clothing and supervise the making of it, and instruct the new hands. Dozens of pairs of socks and stockings were to be knitted before the semi-annual distribution; quantities of fruit had to be put up for winter use; the sick and ailing were to be looked after; and throughout all this there were the countless difficulties that arose out of the indolence and thoughtlessness of those under direction. Mrs. V. V. Clayton tells in homely detail of how the mistress of a large household, including a large staff of servants, went through her daily routine at different seasons of the year. There was cutting out and sewing, putting up fruit, "hog killing time," nursing the sick, and ceaseless regulation of numberless other details. Obviously, it required no little executive ability to manage such a domestic economy efficiently, and many failed of the best results. Still, the outcome of this

training school in domestic work for negro girls was to produce a large class of servants who would perhaps compare favorably with the similar class in any country.¹ Many male servants as well, were employed in various capacities about the house. They enjoyed the same general advantages, and many became as satisfactory in their trained service as any like employees to be found anywhere.

The conditions with field negroes were very different. Except on very small plantations, where the owner looked after his own agricultural operations, and had few hands to direct and train, field negroes had little contact with whites. They were handled in groups, and did not receive careful individual attention. Most of the work assigned to them was simple and monotonous, exacting little intelligence or expert skill. At the height of the crop season, the labor was long and severe, inducing great weariness. The inevitable tendency of these conditions was to deaden intellectual activity, and unfit them for work requiring alert wits and deft hands. This was particularly true on the immense plantations in the rice, cotton and sugar growing sections, and was less and less so as the scale of operations became smaller. A certain amount of this dullness of mind and clumsiness of movement is seen among all agricultural laborers of the lower class, being an inevitable effect of the hard outdoor labor they perform. But the absence of independent will, the subjection to forcible pressure, and

¹ See Mrs. V. V. Clayton's "White and black under the old regime", pp. 38, 39, 50-1, 59, 114-15. See also Olmsted, "Seaboard, etc.", pp. 195-6 and 421; Fanny Kemble's "Journal, etc.", pp. 23-4; Miss Martineau's "Society in America", vol. i, p. 224.

the original density of ignorance of plantation negroes,¹ all helped greatly to emphasize such characteristics.

This description, however, applies only to the lowest class during the crop season. With the advent of winter, the plowing, hoeing and harvesting had to give way to occupations that brought in an element of variety and enlivenment. During the slack time there were fresh clearings to be made, fences and out-buildings to be repaired, fuel to be got up, and various left-over jobs to be disposed of.

Not all the negroes outside the house-servant class were mere field laborers. There were two intervening groups of great importance, the mechanics and the sub-overseers. In the ante-bellum days the population of the slave-states was so scattered and the difficulties of transportation so great, that it was impossible to distribute many kinds of manufactured articles, save at prohibitory cost. At the present time when northern and western products can be laid down at almost any point in the south very cheaply, we find it not easy to realize how different it was formerly. The rise of many towns and villages, serving as distributing points, has also facilitated matters greatly for rural districts. Before these great developments, however, the vast majority of plantations had to be nearly self-sufficing. On every large plantation and within every group of small ones there were to be found selected negroes, who had been trained as blacksmiths, carpenters, wheelwrights, coopers, shoe-cobblers, etc. These men frequently became first-class mechanics, and they were the main dependence for getting all sorts of serviceable home-made manufacturing done. They made and re-

¹ See Olmsted, "Journey through the back country", pp. 81 and 48-9; "Seaboard slave states", pp. 668-9.

paired tools, both wooden and iron, put up buildings, turned out plain furniture, and in many ways rendered the plantation independent of importation from without.¹

Many thousands of negroes were employed in miscellaneous occupations connected specifically with some local industry. They were relied upon for the labor supply in tobacco factories, sugar mills, cotton gins, saw mills, steamboats, coal and iron mining, extensive coast fisheries, turpentine production, and the like. The workmen in all such industries as these gained an insight into useful forms of production, and had a drill in habits of labor. The class of stupid, densely ignorant field negroes, while large, was far from including all below the relatively aristocratic class of house-servants.

Another class remains to be considered, small numerically, but in some respects more important than any other. It was very common for a master to entrust the management of minor operations to one or more of his negroes who had shown exceptional capacity and trustworthiness. Very frequently, instead of employing a white overseer, a master exercised general supervision himself, and relied upon negro overseers as assistants. Sometimes they were employed in the capacity of stewards, and carried the keys. A typical instance of this is given by Olmsted in his observations on a large rice plantation near Charleston :

"We were attended through the mill-house by a respectable looking, orderly, and gentlemanly-mannered mulatto, who was called by his master 'the watchman.' His duties, however, as they were described to me, were those of a steward or intendent. He carried, by a strap at his waist a very large number of keys, and had charge of all the stores of provisions, tools, and materials of the plantations, as well as of all their produce before it was shipped to market. He

¹ See Fanny Kemble's "Journal, etc.", p. 27, and Olmsted, "The back country", pp. 76-8; "Seaboard slave states", pp. 47, 337-47, 351-4, 564, 668-73.

weighed and measured out all the rations for the slaves and for the cattle ; superintended the mechanics, and himself made and repaired, as was necessary, all the machinery." ¹

Here we have, no doubt, the very best type ; but in various lesser capacities it was quite common to give able negroes similar opportunities to prove what was in them.

Valuable as they had always been, the members of this small class of selected and trusted negroes, trained to carry responsibility and to manage plantation operations, became indispensable during the civil war. In that struggle the great disparity in white population between the North and the South compelled the latter to call out more and more of its able-bodied white men, until thousands of plantations were stripped of all the whites save women and children. Many a plantation was then conducted for several years by the negro overseer and steward, under no other authority or advice than that of his white mistress.² This well known and remarkable fact is a striking indication of the extent to which the "fittest" descendants of that raw population, drawn from Africa, had acquired industrial qualifications under the training of Americans.

In review we may say that the almost homogeneous mass of totally benighted savages unloaded from the slavers and landed on our soil, had gradually differentiated. By 1863 had been evolved at least four classes,—(1) the field-hands proper, (2) the artisans, factory-hands, etc., (3) the house-servants, and (4) the foremen, stew-

¹ "Seaboard slave states," p. 426.

² Mrs. V. V. Clayton says that, during the absence of her husband for four years as a general in the Confederate service, she and her four young children were the only white persons on their Alabama plantation. "Old Joe" managed plantation affairs meantime, and was even left in sole charge, when she went to visit her sick husband at the front. "White and black, etc.", p. 116, *et seq.*

ards, etc. Lowest of all were the field-hands, who had acquired the habit of working long and steadily at simple monotonous tasks, under the constant direction of superiors. Otherwise they remained as unenlightened as before; but the habit of labor was something gained for them, since the race never had it before. It is altogether probable also that under the action of selection this class contained many left behind in the evolution of the three higher classes, and innately incapable of much progress. Every race has individuals under, as well as above, average. Among the negroes the former moved slowly in the rear of their race, while the latter progressed more rapidly in varying degrees.

In the second class named, a very marked industrial progress had been attained. Out of a people to whom Du Chaillu's instruments were gods of marvellous power, there had come forth men who worked with or about machinery unburdened with fear, who could handle keen edged tools with good effect, and produce the simpler manufactured articles very successfully. The third class, having enjoyed the greatest advantages of environment and specific teaching, had reached relatively a high level of intelligence of skill in certain phases of industry, and of refinement. But those last mentioned, who, in spite of adverse circumstances, worked their way up to positions of trust and executive responsibility, may be set down as the picked men of their race at the time in question. In them really did the hopes of the negroes lie, for they demonstrated what the race could bring forth at its best. They bore the same relation to all the rest that the entrepreneurs and captains of industry in the dominant race bear to the mass of population.

The industrial progress of the negroes under the tuition and discipline of the American slave-owner, if meas-

ured in terms of West African standards, was of enormous importance. There had been positive and constructive achievements, such as placed the American branch far ahead of its contemporaries in the mother land. And yet, so immense had been the distance to be covered before equality with the Caucasian could be reached, and such had been the defects of slavery as an industrial school, that emancipation found the race far behind the whites in competing power.

Olmsted, during his itineraries through the slave states, endeavored particularly to ascertain wherein the negroes were inferior. He found that in amount of work done the average negro did not compare favorably with the white workmen in the free states. The negro never put himself into his work with vim and earnestness. It was his constant study to do as little as possible, consistent with escape from punishment; and so there was formed a deep-seated habit of shamming in every conceivable manner. One prominent Virginia planter said that his negroes "never worked so hard as to tire themselves—always were lively and ready for a frolic at night." Upon this Olmsted remarks: "This is just what I have thought when I have seen slaves at work; they seem to go through the motions of labor without putting strength into them. They keep their powers in reserve for their own use at night, perhaps."¹ Rarely were they too tired for a night frolic, with fiddling and dancing, or a coon and 'possum hunt. Many of them showed that they had plenty of reserved strength for their own projects in spare hours. Olmsted, endeavoring to get at some quantitative comparisons of negro with free white labor, compared the amount of wheat usually harvested by an

¹ "Seaboard slave states", p. 91.

equal number of negro and free white cradlers and binders. As a result of this and other calculations, he reached the conclusion that slaves were hardly one-half as efficient as free laborers. Where the "task system" prevailed, as in South Carolina and eastern Georgia, each negro being assigned a definite task to be accomplished each day, they worked "rapidly and well." But, says Olmsted: "These tasks would certainly not be considered excessively hard by a Northern laborer; and, in point of fact, the more industrious and active hands finish theirs often by two o'clock."¹ Evidently such a task would not pass as a good day's work according to our ordinary standards of industry.

Another cause of the inferiority of slave labor was their heedless indifference, clumsiness, and wastefulness. The lightest and best tools could not be given them, owing to excessive breakage or wear and tear. Even with the simplest and stoutest implements, the annual loss in capital was enormous. Further, it was all but impossible to introduce new and improved implements and tools. They were regarded as inconvenient and hateful innovations, and were quickly destroyed, owing partly to shrewd, wilful manipulation to that end, and partly to natural inability to effect readjustment to unfamiliar things. There was no interest to lead to the necessary effort. Nor could fine live stock be introduced, for the same carelessness, and a callous disregard of brute welfare besides, led almost invariably to losses too serious to be borne. Olmsted says:

"When I ask why mules are so universally substituted for horses on the farm, the first reason given, and confessedly the most conclusive one, is, that horses cannot bear the treatment they always must get from negroes; horses are always soon foundered or crippled by them,

¹ "Seaboard slave states", pp. 203-4, 435 and 667.

while mules will bear cudgeling, and lose a meal or two now and then, and not be materially injured, and they do not take cold or get sick if neglected or overworked. But I do not need to go further than to the window of the room in which I am writing, to see, at almost any time, treatment of cattle that would insure the immediate discharge of the driver by almost any farmer owning them at the North."¹

Finally, there was wide-spread and incessant shaming of sickness among all classes of the negroes in order to avoid work. This evil was one that sorely taxed the patience and resources of every slave-owner. Olmsted states that he rarely failed to find on any plantation, supporting as many as twenty negroes, some that were not at work owing to sickness or injury, real or counterfeited. "It is said to be nearly as difficult to form a satisfactory diagnosis of negroes' disorders as of infants', because their imagination of symptoms is so vivid, and because not the slightest reliance is to be placed on their accounts of what they have felt or done."² Everywhere masters and mistresses were constantly between two embarrassing alternatives. If they were lenient and gave the negro the benefit of the doubt, there quickly followed an increase of ailments so great as to be manifestly counterfeit in great part. On the other hand, if they refused to believe in the sickness, they were liable to injure some that were really ill. In the end the masters often made the former mistake and sometimes the latter. Especially common was it for women to get release from labor on grounds of a nature that did not admit of effective investigation. One planter put the matter thus: "They don't come to the field, and you go to the quarters and ask the old nurse what is the matter, and she says, 'Oh, she's not well, master; she's not fit to

¹ *Idem.*, p. 47.

² "Seaboard slave states", p. 187.

work, sir,' and what can you do?''¹ Not merely was there shamming of sickness, but the utmost ingenuity of the negroes was exercised to invent excuses for procrastination, dilatory movements, and all manner of evasions of real effort. With such a labor-foundation the institution of slavery would inevitably have fallen by the way sooner or later in the modern struggle of competition.

We must beware, however, of being misled regarding the actual results of that system. Notwithstanding its constructive effect on the industrial character of the negroes, they still revealed many serious deficiencies. Was slavery the cause of these? If so, then with its abolition, we have a right to expect the disappearance of its effects after the rise of several new generations, subjected to different and opposite forces. If, however, there lay at the root of these deficiencies another powerful cause, quite apart from any human institution, then we are dealing with an altogether different problem. The true relation of slavery to the industrial inferiority of the negroes is, therefore, a matter of deep practical concern to us.

The question is: did American slavery develop in the negro his indolence, carelessness, brutality to animals, and aptness in deception, or did it merely fail to eradicate them as well as some better devised system might have done? Every characteristic just named we know to have been an integral part of the West African's nature long before any slaver ever touched our shore. He was indolent, reckless, and improvident, even when he himself immediately suffered the consequences, instead of an American master. He was inconceivably cruel to his own fellowmen, not to mention dumb brutes.

¹ *Idem.*, p. 190.

In a word, he was as a native of the Guinea Coast far worse than as an American slave, even in those particulars usually thought of as peculiarly the evil products of slavery.

In the face of this patent fact we must conclude that while our institution of slavery was ill-adapted in some ways to root out these elements of undeveloped character, yet it did not bring them into existence. That they persisted was due to the mighty force of race heredity, obscurely but irresistibly dominating Negro life at every point. Environmental influences, whether for good or evil, may effect much, but what we have just seen is a revelation of man's powerlessness to set aside a fundamental law of nature. With this law must reckon the American Negro, and the nation of which he is a part.

CHAPTER VI.

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT.

In no direction, perhaps, was the readjustment required of the African immigrant more difficult than in that of religion. In every object, animate and inanimate, the Guinea native sees a spirit. To prosper in this life he has to keep on good terms with these spirits. But having attended well to this, his religious duty is done. As to his conduct toward fellowmen, the gods care nothing. His religion has nothing to do with moral conduct. In his thought there is no inconsistency between his piety towards the gods and cruelty or crime against human beings.

Imagine, then, the untutored negro, striving to lay aside these beliefs, rooted in the depths of his soul, and to rise to the comprehension of an exalted monotheistic religion. The conception of a single unlocalized Deity, whose attributes express the loftiest ideals attained by the white race, had never been grasped by the African mind. Instead of attributing every incident, trivial or serious, to concrete personalities, he must explain them in terms of abstract mechanical forces, expressing in indirect manner the will of the one Great Spirit. The negro was told that this Great Spirit is not satisfied with material sacrifices and humble homage, for these, if unaccompanied by obedience to a refined moral code, constitute abominable hypocrisy. He was told that to meet the requirements of the new religion, he must be chaste, truthful, honest and merciful in all human relations. In short, a more profound revolution of thought and conduct than was here involved can scarcely be con-

ceived. Yet nothing less than this was to be achieved, if the negro was to become fit for American society.

Our question is—in what ways and to what extent did the negro's experience under American slavery bring about this readjustment? Human thought and action are moulded by conscious and unconscious agencies. It is questionable whether the deliberate efforts of the dominant race to Christianize the slaves were as effective as various less purposive influences. The transfer from Africa had a strong negative effect. In the utter confusion of tribal distinctions and organization, the former notions and practices tended to disappear. The negroes were thereby released from the domination of their native priesthood, and heard no more of their teachings. The very languages in which all their former religious ideas had been couched were speedily lost. Many of the natural phenomena with which their religious beliefs and rites had been associated, were left in tropical Africa. Human sacrifices, witchcraft executions, licentious orgies at annual festivals, and the like, with all the thoughts and emotions cultivated by them, fell out of use and rapidly faded from memory.

Yet it is easy to overestimate the completeness of this negative experience. If the negroes had been taken in infancy from their native land, before becoming saturated with the native religion, and if they had been so scattered in this country as to give them no opportunity for a separate group life, the new environment would have given almost a *tabula rasa* on which to write new religious ideas. But such was far from the case. The transplanted negroes were adults, already imbued with their native religion. The field-hands living in the "quarters," had much opportunity to pre-

serve by tradition their former ideas. Hence, much of the ancient heritage, handed on by social heredity, survives even to this day.

More constructive influences also were acting upon the race. As the negroes learned how superior was the knowledge of their white master, they were profoundly impressed by the latter's attitude towards accidents, disease, and all occurrences affecting man's welfare. They saw the sick cured by nursing and medicine, without a suggestion of diabolical agencies. When a person was accidentally killed, when lightning destroyed property, or a crop was ruined by adverse weather, they observed that the far-seeing white man reckoned with no malignant spirits, but explained such incidents on other grounds. These facts showed that when their master reprobated their superstitions as delusions, he was sincere. Thus, as the negroes acquired confidence in the white man's ability, this silent influence over their thoughts grew more effective. Thus independently of any effort to instruct them, or force them to act in harmony with the white man's theory of things, they underwent a great change of thought and habit. Affecting first the more capable and alert minds of the race, these influences of example and suggestion worked downward throughout the mass.

But the dominant race did not rely solely upon the agencies just considered to uplift the negroes. Superstitious practices were strictly prohibited wherever the results were likely to be injurious or conflict with better methods known to the white. Not merely did the master provide proper methods for the cure of disease, but he would tolerate no resort to traditional modes of treatment. Wherever the latter were detected, they were suppressed on the spot. The weird and frantic

ceremonies at a death, the dangerous retention of a corpse till decomposed, the burial of it under the dwelling, and of valuables along with it, were incontinently done away with. Such customs usually are clung to with desperate persistence, and administrators in West Africa to-day find it well nigh impossible to suppress them, even in the districts most fully under their power. But in this country at the close of slavery few vestiges of them remained. The whole sacrificial economy of the former religion was effectively destroyed, and along with it many implied beliefs became lost to memory.

While this destructive work was going on, there was much constructive effort in the shape of religious instruction and exhortation. In hundreds of instances conscientious masters and mistresses made, or encouraged, earnest efforts to enlighten their negroes and impress upon them at least the simpler elements of Christianity. Except in few places, it was customary to have religious services and instruction on Sunday, conducted by the local white clergy, or in remote rural districts, where church facilities were wanting, by negro preachers of more than ordinary intelligence and character.

These humbler ministers of religion performed an important function. Olmsted gives an account of them, based on wide personal observation. He says :

“ On almost every large plantation, and in every neighborhood of small ones, there is one man who has come to be considered the head or pastor of the local church. The office among the negroes, as among all other people, confers a certain importance and power. A part of the reverence attaching to the duties is given to the person ; vanity and self-confidence are cultivated, and a higher ambition aroused than can usually enter the mind of a slave. The self-respect of the preacher is also often increased by the consideration in which he is held by his master, as well as his fellows ; thus, the preachers

generally have an air of superiority to other negroes ; they acquire a remarkable memory of words, phrases and forms ; a curious sort of poetic talent is developed, and a habit is obtained of rhapsodizing and exciting furious emotions, to a great degree spurious and temporary, in themselves and others, through the imagination." ¹

Mrs. Clayton describes the negro preacher, Uncle Sam, on her husband's plantation, as one who exercised a most valuable influence upon all the negroes, commanding their respect as well as that of his master. He held weekly services in a little "chapel" built for the purpose, and also Sunday school for the younger people.²

The religion thus transmitted to the masses was unquestionably crude, often sadly distorted, and yet it is probable that the instruction and stimulus thus received were generally as good as the simple hearers were able to assimilate. Thus the ministry may have been more effective than one purer and more elevated that would have overshot the mark.

Missionary efforts on the part of the churches to provide for Christianizing the heathen population from Africa, were made very early in colonial times. The favorable opportunities for this work under American slavery had been one of the considerations prominently put forward as an excuse for that institution, and went far to reconcile the clergy to its adoption. The "Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts", incorporated by William III at London, in 1701, had for one of its objects the Christianizing of the negroes in the American colonies.³ Accordingly

¹ "Seaboard slave states", p. 450.

² "White and black, etc.", pp. 23-4.

³ See "The religious instruction of the negroes", by the Rev. Charles C. Jones, of Savannah, 1842, p. 8, *et seq.* In this work will be found an excellent account of the work of this society and of the American churches in the religious instruction of the negroes.

missionaries were sent and the regular colonial clergy were urged to care for the spiritual welfare of the slaves. Masters and mistresses were addressed directly and urged to promote Christian belief and conduct among their negroes. The Bishop of London, for example, in 1727, addressed a long and earnest letter "to the masters and mistresses of families in the English plantations abroad, exhorting them to encourage and promote the instruction of their negroes in the Christian faith."¹ The Moravian Brethren were particularly active in several of the colonies, and accomplished much. The Presbyterian, Baptist, and Methodist churches, named here in the order of their inception and development in the colonies, also made provision for the religious teaching of the negroes. But the last two denominations succeeded in enrolling the largest number of converts, and seem to have looked more than any of the other ecclesiastical organizations toward the securing of negro converts.² Their great success was largely due to their methods of evangelization, which strongly appealed to the simple minds and emotional temperaments of these people.

In these ways an immense force was brought to bear, tending to transform the negroes' religious life. That the light failed to reach all is certain. Some masters were indifferent, and a few opposed instruction of any kind, but the better order and more civilized manners of negroes controlled by correct religious motives, were too patent to most slave owners to permit them to make any objection. Rather did this consideration lead some

¹ *Idem.*, pp. 16-18, the letter being quoted in full.

² *Idem.*, p. 53, *et seq.* According to Jones, when the Union was formed there were some 73,471 Baptists and 12,884 Methodist communicants among the negroes, and the number in each case was growing fast.

who were themselves indifferent to religion, to encourage religious work among their negroes.

It was inevitable that much of the religious teaching should be so little digested as to be without appreciable effect upon the conduct, and it must be admitted that even among the most intelligent and thoroughly instructed of the race, the lofty ideals and exacting moral code of Christianity were but feebly grasped and carried out in life. Nevertheless, when we compare their religious condition in West Africa and at the close of slavery, it is plain that they had made a great step toward something less gloomy, futile, and appallingly wasteful, than their former faith. It is true that their social heredity was not entirely cut off, and the inertia of race habit caused the survival of many superstitions. Belief in the efficacy of charms was still all but universal; a rusty nail wrapped in red flannel was highly valued as a protection against all sorts of ills; belief in witchcraft survived as faith in the power of evil persons to "put a spell" on one. These beliefs were a prolific source of trouble to the owners. "Conjerors", in essence the survivors of the former priests, made a business of selling charms, removing "spells", etc. If a rabbit ran across a path, it was abandoned; a lightning-struck tree was never used for fuel. These things, though harmless compared with what went before, must not be overlooked, for they reveal mental conditions. All in all, however, no small part of that profound readjustment in religious life, defined at the opening of this chapter, had been effected in our negro population by virtue of their experience under slavery.

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Let us consider some differences between the petty tribal groups in Africa from which the Negro came, and the great, organic nation for which they must be socialized. Now and then some West African chieftain of unusual ability conquered a number of tribes, but experience has shown that these embryo kingdoms soon fall to pieces. Among the unharmonized village groups perpetual hostility exists. Under such conditions the individual is conscious of membership only in his own small group, and even there his sense of social obligation is little exercised. He has acquired little of that power, fundamental to enlarged social existence, of restraining the desires and passions destructive of orderly coöperation. Killing, torturing, theft and duplicity, are so often virtues to him, that even in his own group they seldom seem disreputable and receive punishment. His sense of family and neighborly obligations—in a word, his psychic nature, has been adapted to social life barely enough to permit of a narrow, turbulent tribal existence.

Our race, which in Europe had developed large national societies, had developed the mental and moral qualities necessary to survival under such conditions: foresight; ability to harmonize freedom of individual initiative with efficient social organization; self-restraint combined with self-assertion; stability combined with adaptability. Respect for life and property, sympathy, integrity, regard for family and fellowman,—these make possible a society progressive and at the same time orderly and conservative.

These subjective adaptations, while to a large extent matters of education, have their limits fixed by innate capacities and instincts. These are determined by heredity, and are not to be reshaped save by the slow processes of selection. A remoulding of the Negro's psychic nature was required to fit him for membership in American society. How far had the Negro character, while subjected to American slavery, been thus socialized? The degree of socialization may be tested in two ways: by the conduct shown in family relations, and by that shown in relation with men in general. In a word, the test of a people's social refinement is found in the moral standards recognized and maintained by it.

We may recall here what was said regarding the loose sex relations and reckless licentiousness of the West Africans. Clearly the task of the slave-owner, coming into possession of such people, and undertaking to regulate them according to white conceptions of chastity and monogamic marriage, was one of superhuman difficulty. Certain exigencies of the institution under which they were held prevented slave marriages from being as inviolable by law and as sacredly respected as was the case among the higher race. The Rev. C. C. Jones said truly enough:

"The married state is not protected by law; whatever of protection it enjoys is to be attributed to custom, to the efforts of conscientious owners, and to the discipline and doctrine of the churches, and also to the correct principle and virtue of the contracting parties."¹

There was nothing to prevent masters from parting a couple for "incompatibility of temper", or in a division of property, or for any other reason. That only too often they did this, was a serious fault of slavery at a vital point. Yet such parting of slave couples was ex-

¹ "The religious instruction of the negroes", pp. 132-3.

ceptional, few masters resorted to it without strong reasons, and on most plantations many years would pass without any such occurrence. Particularly was it avoided in the case of the house-servants and well-behaved negroes, whose appreciation of the sacredness of monogamic marriage was so much greater. Among the field-hands, much less removed from their original status, strong attachments between husband and wife were, as in Africa, comparatively rare, and separations meant to them neither greatly wounded feelings nor the breach of a sacred contract.

Marriages among the field negroes of the larger plantations were attended with scarcely any ceremony, and thus were not calculated to make much of an impression as really solemn occasions in life. But in the case of negroes on smaller plantations, more intimately known to their owner in person, and especially among house-servants everywhere, marriages were celebrated with considerable ceremony. Says Olmsted :

“ When a man and woman wish to live with each other, they are required to ask leave of their master ; and, unless there are some very obvious objections, this is always granted ; a cabin is allotted to them, and presents are made of dresses and house-keeping articles. A marriage ceremony, in the same form as that used by free people, is conducted by the negro preacher, and they are encouraged to make the occasion memorable and gratifying to all by general festivity. The master and mistress, when on the plantation, usually honor the wedding by their attendance, and, if they are favorite servants, it is held in the house, and the ceremony performed by a white minister.”¹

Undoubtedly it is important thus to magnify an occasion, when the individual enters into new responsibilities, so that these will be better realized and remembered.²

¹ “ Seaboard slave states ”, p. 448.

² This point is forcibly brought out by Edward A. Ross in his “ Social control ”, p. 253.

The influences tending toward marital fidelity and chastity among the field negroes failed of securing amongst them a sexual morality even approximating that of civilized peoples. This was due in part to the indifference of masters, and this in turn, in no small degree, to the hopelessness of the task. Reasonable quiet and order in the quarters seemed as much as could be hoped for under the circumstances. In part the failure was owing to strong passions and weak self control, and a lack of any feeling of dishonor in breaking marriage vows or being unchaste. These matters were much better regulated among the house-servants. Not only were they under closer supervision, but they imbibed unconsciously from the whites more of the sentiments and ideals that make against immoral conduct. Probably a distinct majority of the negroes lived out their lives in proper monogamic marriages. In any case it is certain that the negroes on the average had left West African standards far behind by 1863.

It seems probable that there was less advance in parental care for children under slavery than in any other direction. The West African father felt little concern in his children; the mother, while showing impulsive affection for them at times, had no idea whatever of systematically correcting and training them. Thus, at the time the negroes came to this country there had not been developed in the race strong and enduring parental affections nor more than a very slight sense of responsibility for careful bringing up of children.

Now, such were the conditions under slavery that this phase of family life, supremely important in civilized societies, could be very little cultivated. The evil conditions were more aggravated and wide spread

than among white working classes of the lower grades, where both father and mother, going out to work, are compelled daily to leave their children. On every plantation the younger children shifted for themselves at the quarters, or were left in charge of one or more older women, entrusted with that duty. These carelessly looked after the little swarm of black children, doing only what was necessary to keep them out of danger and correcting only flagrant disobedience.¹ The parents while about their cabins paid little attention to their own children, save to beat them if exasperated by some unusual misconduct.² Parental care was much better in the case of the house-servants, who had the example of the white household constantly before their eyes, and were better able to appreciate the importance of early training.

As might have been expected, the mutual attachments among members of the same family were seldom as deep and lasting as is the case among whites. The capacity for such feeling is a matter of slow growth, and could not possibly be developed suddenly within half a dozen generations. Fanny Kemble was astonished and perplexed by the fact that on the death of a child among her husband's negroes, the parents, nurse, and others "all seemed apathetic and indifferent to the event."³ Olmsted found that it was so common for negro couples to tire of each other and wish for separation, or else to show no great concern upon separation, that the planters thought nothing of it.⁴ Usually, after

¹ Olmsted, "Seaboard slave states", pp. 423-4.

² Jones, "Religious instruction, etc.", p. 113.

³ "Journal, etc.". p. 95.

⁴ "Journey through the back country", p. 112.

the loss of any relative by death or separation,¹ there was an outburst of demonstrative lamentation, very soon followed by returning indifference and cheerfulness. Lack of affectionate concern for the nearest kin was shown often in neglect of them during illness, thus making it necessary for the owner to watch such matters closely.

From our standpoint all this sounds anything but encouraging. But recall how little time had elapsed since the forefathers of these people had lived in complete savagery where selling of relatives or children into slavery, even into foreign slavery, was a commonplace that aroused no protest. At their worst, the American negroes have never witnessed or taken part in scenes of callous cruelty such as were too frequent in West Africa to give occasion for surprise or comment. .

In the recognition of wider social obligations considerable progress was made, although the standard attained on the average was still, of course, very low. The Guinea native's propensity to steal, and his remarkable facility in lying, persisted. Just as the officers

¹ Olmsted cites, for example, as not inconsistent with his own impressions, the description of a slave auction by a writer in *Chamber's Journal*, Oct., 1853. This writer was much surprised at the absence of emotion among the negroes concerned: "the change of owners was apparently looked forward to with as much indifference as hired servants might anticipate removal from one employer to another. . . . This does not correspond with the ordinary accounts of slave sales, which are represented as tearful and harrowing. My belief is none of the parties felt deeply on the subject, or at least that any distress they experienced was but momentary. . . . One of my reasons for this opinion rests on a trifling incident which occurred. While waiting for the sale, a gentleman present amused himself with a pointer dog, which stood on its hind legs and took pieces of bread from his pocket. These tricks greatly amused the row of negroes . . . and the poor woman, whose heart three minutes before was almost broken, now laughed as heartily as any one." "Seaboard slave states", p. 37.

and travellers in West Africa were incessantly exasperated by these traits of the negro, so were the American slave-owners. Deploring the inveterate habits of the slaves along the lines in question, Jones said :

"They are proverbially thieves. . . . They steal from each other, from their masters, from anybody. Cows, sheep, hogs, poultry, clothing—yea, nothing goes amiss to which they may take a fancy ; while corn, rice, cotton, or the staple productions, whatever they may be, are standing temptations, provided a market be at hand, and they can sell or barter with impunity." ¹ He adds : "Duplicity is one of the most prominent traits in their character. . . . Their frequent cases of feigned sickness are vexatious. . . . The number, variety, and ingenuity of the falsehoods, that can be told by one of them in a few moments, is most astonishing."

The ancient lineage of this trait is familiar to us in the strikingly similar language of Du Chaillu and Ellis as to the source of many trials to the white man in Africa.

To overcome, to any great degree, these weaknesses of an immature development, was manifestly impossible within the period of slavery. Still, many negroes came to be entirely trusted by their owners in responsible positions, and there can be no doubt that the class of honest and reliable characters was steadily growing. Other elements of social character were being slowly acquired ; violence to life and property was comparatively rare ; there was a growth of sympathy, and of a sense of obligation to those in need. Though much of this refinement was essentially artificial and of shallow rootage, the American negroes had put off their more grossly anti-social customs, together with many associated ideas and sentiments, and had become beings of a higher social grade.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

CHAPTER VIII.

PSYCHIC DEVELOPMENT.

Of all phases of human character, perhaps the most subtle and difficult to understand in their causal relations are temperamental qualities. Why one race is inclined to be phlegmatic, reserved, and stoical, while another is excitable, garrulous, and demonstrative, is a question for which as yet there is no convincing answer. The West African people are emphatically of the latter type. They are exceedingly fond of music and dancing; quickly recover good humor after provocation; are heedless amid misfortune, and love the communal group life rather than that of the family.

These characteristics largely remained with them as slaves in this country. It is true that the very lowest class of field-hands, worked severely in large gangs on the greater plantations and rigidly held in a monotonous routine, tended to become depressed and stolid. In all grades above this, however, the average negro's excitability, love of fiddling, singing and dancing, his readiness for a frolic, his delight in a "crowd" where plenty of talk and gaiety were going on, his unrestrained demonstrations of grief or joy, were proverbial throughout the slave states. Travellers usually were surprised by the exhibition of prevailing cheeriness and good humor where they expected to find sullen despair. Not knowing the natives of Guinea they were not prepared to understand why a negro was not affected by slavery and misfortune in the same way a Caucasian would have been.

Olmsted observed on various occasions that when one

might have expected with good reason to find low-spirited melancholy, such was by no means the case. During a voyage from Mobile to New Orleans, he watched the cargo of slaves, of whom some were going to be sold in the latter city and some were accompanying emigrants to Texas. Disconsolate individuals were the exception, and as a crowd they appeared to have a jolly time, there being "a fiddle or two among them," and plenty of singing, dancing, and continual talk.¹ Similarly he was surprised to find that, on the Louisiana sugar plantations, the negroes looked forward with pleasure to the "grinding season," and preferred it to any other, despite the fact that it involved the hardest labor of the year, requiring at its height eighteen hours a day of both black and white. Inquiring of the negroes why this was so, he found that it was because things were lively, strong coffee was given without stint, and there was abundant noise and "go" about every thing done. Thus, many peculiar propensities of the negroes were gratified.²

A typical "ball," as seen on a large cotton plantation of eastern Georgia among the field negroes, is described by Fanny Kemble, as follows :

"At our own settlement I found everything in a fever of preparation for the ball. A huge boat had just arrived from the cotton plantation at St. Simon's, laden with the youth and beauty of that portion of the estate who had been invited to join the party ; and the greetings among the arrivers and welcomers, and the heaven-defying combinations of color in the gala attire of both, surpass all my powers of description. The ball, to which of course we went, took place in one of the rooms of the Infirmary. . . . Oh, my dear E——, I have seen Jim Crow, the veritable James ; all the contortions, and springs, and flings, and kicks, and capers you have been beguiled into accepting as indicative of him are spurious, faint, feeble, impotent—in a word, pale Northern reproductions of that ineffable black conception.

¹ "Seaboard slave states", p. 571.

² *Idem.*, pp. 681-2.

It is impossible for words to describe the things these people did with their bodies, and, above all, with their faces, the whites of their eyes and the whites of their teeth, and certain outlines, which either naturally or by the grace of heaven, or by the practice of some peculiar artistic dexterity, they bring into prominent and most ludicrous display. The languishing elegance of some, the painstaking laboriousness of others, above all, the feats of a certain enthusiastic banjo player, who seemed to me to thump his instrument with every part of his body at once, at last so utterly overcame any attempt at decorous gravity on my part that I was obliged to secede." ¹

This side-light upon one aspect of plantation life brings into view many characteristics, attesting the persistence of racial heredity.

A high degree of intelligence is incompatible with enslavement as a general thing, and consequently the slave-owners forbade literate education among their negroes. Hence, with negligible exceptions, the mass of them remained totally illiterate until after emancipation. This does not imply that they made no progress in intelligence. It is not likely that lack of schools was as serious a drawback as has been commonly supposed. It is never safe to assume that what is good or bad for a highly developed race is equally good or bad for an undeveloped one.

Literary and scientific culture is the last term in a long series of developments. It is a recent achievement

¹ "Journal, etc.", pp. 96-7. As a companion piece with this scene among the lower class of field negroes, it may be well to give Olmsted's account of how balls were managed among the slave aristocracy: "During the winter the negroes, in Montgomery, have their 'assemblies' or dress balls, which are got up regardless of expense in very grand style. Tickets are advertised 'admitting one gentleman and two ladies, \$1', and 'Ladies are assured that they may rely on the strictest order and propriety being observed.' Cards of invitation finely engraved with handsome vignettes, are sent, not only to the fashionable slaves, but to the more esteemed white people, who, however, take no part except as lookers on. All the fashionable dances are executed; no one is admitted except in full dress; there are regular masters of ceremonies, etc." See "Seaboard slave states", p. 554.

of our own race, and rests upon foundations which it required centuries to build. Before it came to flower and fruitage, civilization had first to strike deep roots into the soil. Without sustentation life cannot grow, which means that without mastery over the processes of production no society can progress. The first lesson for a people to learn is that "labor is the first price, the original purchase money,"¹ that must be paid for all things. No less important is the lesson how to consume with such foresight and self-control as to get the maximum benefit from the products of labor. When these lessons have become part of the character of a people, they are ready to grasp and use a higher culture to advantage. They are then in no danger of losing their equilibrium, for they can then appreciate the true function of literary training.

We are prone to assume that what is good for us must be good for all men. Yet it is not true, for example, that because democratic self-government suits us admirably, it is therefore the best form of government for every people. Because from the high level already attained by us further progress is conditioned upon literary and scientific education, it does not follow that these factors are equally necessary to progress from the level of the Guinea natives. They have yet to learn the elementary lessons of civilization which our race acquired before five per cent. of its members could write their names.

Miss Kingsley's discussion of the attempts in West Africa to civilize the natives through reading and writing is very illuminating. Having shown that, contrary to the supposition of some, polygamy and drink

¹ Adam Smith, "Wealth of nations", London, 1893, p. 23.

did not suffice to explain the degeneration revealed by the simi-civilized natives, she says :

“ Well ! if it is not the polygamy and not the drink that makes the West African so useless as he now is as a means of developing the country, what is it ? In my opinion it is the sort of instruction he has received, not that this instruction is necessarily bad in itself, but bad from being unsuited to the sort of man to whom it has been given. It has the tendency to develop his emotionalism, his sloth, and his vanity, and it has no tendency to develop those parts of his character which are in a rudimentary state and much want it, thereby throwing the whole character of the man out of gear.”¹

By way of explaining the basis of this opinion she says further :

“ The great inferiority of the African to the European lies in the matter of mechanical idea. . . The African's own way of doing anything mechanical is the simplest way, not the easiest, certainly not quickest ; he has all the chuckle-headedness of that overrated creature, the ant, for his head never saves his heels. Watch a gang of boat-boys getting a surf-boat down a sandy beach. They turn it broadside on to the direction they wish it to go, and then turn it bodily over and over, with structure-straining bumps to the boat, and any amount of advice and recriminatory observations to each other. Unless under white direction they will not make a slip, nor will they put rollers under her. Watch again a gang of natives trying to get a log of timber down into the river from the bank, and you will see the same sort of thing—no idea of a lever, or anything of that sort ; and remember that, unless under white direction, the African has never made an even fourteenth-rate piece of cloth or pottery, or a machine, tool, picture, sculpture, and that he has never even risen to the level of picture-writing.”

She then points out that most of the education given to the natives has been of the literary kind only. The native

“ sees the white man is his ruling man, rich, powerful, and honored, and so he imitates him, and goes to the mission-school classes to read and write, and as soon as an African learns to read and write he turns into a clerk. Now there is no immediate use for clerks in Africa, certainly no room for further development in this line of goods. What Africa wants at present, and will want for the next 200 years at least, are workers, planters, plantation hands, miners, and seaman ;

¹ “ Travels in West Africa ”, pp. 668–9.

and there are no schools in Africa to teach these things or the doctrine of the nobility of labour save the technical mission-schools. Almost every mission on the Coast has now a technical school, just started, or is having collections made at home to start one."¹

This very recent movement to lay the main stress in education upon manual training and discipline in labor is the result of the experience described by Miss Kingsley. Her opinions are fully corroborated by other authorities. M. De Cardi says :

"Thus you will understand me, when I point out to you the weak spot in nine-tenths of the mission effort. They have been trying to look after the negro's soul and teaching him Christianity, which in the native mind is cutting at the root, not only of all their ancient customs, but actually aims at taking away their living without attempting to teach them any industrial pursuit which may help them in the struggle for life, which is daily getting harder for our African brethren, as it is here in England."²

The principle of relativity has been overlooked and it has been assumed that the needs of the white man and the savage are the same.

All this does not prove that literary education is in itself bad for a raw people, but it demonstrates that mere schooling in matters of intellect will not of itself transform indolent savages into efficient members of a civilized society, and that literary knowledge must be used only as one of the means to the end sought. Amongst ourselves each new generation acquires, independently of schools, invaluable knowledge and habits that the lower races do not possess at all. We gain them during youth as unconsciously as we do our mother-tongue. Precisely for this reason we forget what immense toil and struggle it costs an uncivilized people to attain the same ends.

¹ "Travels, etc.", pp. 669-71.

² Miss Kingsley, "West African studies", appendix i, p. 561. See also MacDonald, "The Gold Coast", chap. xii, pp. 316-338.

If the grave mistake made in West Africa had been made here, the disastrous results deplored by administrators in that region probably would have ensued here. We have no reason to assume that our people, in the days of slavery, understood the problem before them any better than the Europeans in West Africa. The facts above cited indicate, therefore, that what the slaveowner did out of pure self-interest, was not so serious a hindrance to progress among the negroes, fresh from Africa, as at first glance it seems.

Notwithstanding his continued illiteracy, the transplanted Guinea native was making progress throughout the period of slavery along the lines most significant to him. He was at school learning the primary lessons of civilization. He was getting rid of ideas and usages incompatible with life in a modern society. He was acquiring a new and superior language; he was being won over little by little to Christianity; he was contracting the habit of labor and becoming familiar with new productive processes; and he was being refined in social feeling and conduct. So far from remaining in a state of arrested progress, he was steadily acquiring those rudiments of character essential to all further development.

PART III.

THE NEGRO AS A FREE CITIZEN.

CHAPTER I.

GENERAL NATURE OF THE SECOND CHANGE.

With the close of the civil war the negroes experienced another alteration of conditions, but one less profound and complete than the first. Many forces that had acted upon the race before emancipation continued in unbroken operation. Let us note them briefly in passing.

It was difficult for the negroes to realize what had befallen them, when their title to freedom was read and explained. There came no sudden change of scene; the same climate with its familiar seasons enveloped them; they moved amid unchanged natural phenomena; they were encircled by the same civilization; they continued in the same occupations; in a word, the environment which enclosed them remained substantially unchanged. It was the nature of their relations to that environment, so far as human law could regulate them, that had been altered. These elements of environment constitute a large proportion of the influences that mould human progress. Favorable to progress before emancipation, they continued favorable after it. Our climate, for instance, has helped steadily to stimulate tropical indolence into northern activity, and the constant influence of a civilized model has tended to substitute American civilization for African barbarism. Unless we bear in mind that these forces persisted, we shall lose perspective, and

exaggerate unconsciously the real place of newly introduced forces.

Likewise, heredity continued, changed but slightly with each generation. As under slavery it resisted remoulding influences, so it continued to do under the régime of freedom. The slight tendency to improvement, due to artificial selection of slaves by their owners, came to an end. Since 1863 the hereditary qualities of the race have been subject to natural selection only. There is reason to believe that recent developments are tending to reduce steadily the amount of intermixture between the two races.¹ Thus, it would appear that the racial heredity has undergone improvement (from the standpoint of Americans, of course) with less rapidity since emancipation than before.

So much for the forces that survived with unbroken continuity the abolition of slavery and the cataclysm of war. Others came into operation for the first time with Lincoln's proclamation.

To the negroes emancipation meant objectively the removal of compulsion, and subjectively the rise of new incentives to progress. Very soon came literary education, and, to many, also political power. Gradually has followed a segregation of the negroes, so that they are tending to develop a distinct community within the nation, one having its own public opinion, standards of conduct, and peculiar interests at many points. Both for the negroes and the nation at large, this may prove in the end the most fateful development of all.

We should understand clearly what the removal of compulsion involved. To the freedmen it seemed for a time that all control over them had ceased. In reality,

¹ This statement is here made in advance of a fuller discussion, which occurs in the next chapter.

however, there had been merely a transfer of authority from the person of the master to the community at large. It was still as necessary as ever that conduct should be controlled in accordance with civilized order. There was no release from the obligation to earn self-support by labor, to respect life and property, to honor the several relationships of the monogamic family, and, in short, to obey the written and unwritten law of the land. It is not simply that the public authority will enforce such conduct, acting through conscious channels: behind formal law stands a power even more relentless. If the individuals of any class, living in the environment of a strenuously progressive civilization, cannot adjust themselves to its requirements, they must succumb. From this there can be no escape under the law of struggle for existence.

The inertia of habit, once moulded under the discipline of the slave-owner, kept the mature generation of freedmen in the beaten path. It was only among those of the younger generation and its successors that the new conditions could work their full effects for good or evil. It will be for us to investigate these effects throughout the remainder of this study.

The subjective influences of freedom were very powerful for good, yet they were accompanied by grave dangers for the race. On the one hand the negroes now had every motive to put forth real effort in production, to avoid habits of careless wastefulness, and to exercise control over present desires in the interest of future welfare. On the other hand, if they proved wanting in these respects, the consequences were no longer borne by their employers, but by themselves. Personal liberty has, in most cases, been attained by the mass of men in

a community only after a severe struggle. Where it has been self-developed it is almost secure ; if it has been a gift from others, the inner qualities needed to maintain it are far less likely to exist. Social existence is impossible unless the conduct of the individual be controlled and ordered according to certain fundamental principles. If the individual has such command of himself that he is able to regulate conduct from within, then for him great personal freedom is safe ; but if not, the regulation must be from without. Unregulated action in response to egoistic desires and passions is in no case to be permitted. As a native of the Guinea Coast the negro had very slight self-command ; as a slave in America he had no opportunity to cultivate this power. When, therefore, he became a free citizen of the United States, it was an extremely critical experience and the outcome is yet to be seen.

Neither education in letters, which became possible to the freedmen, nor manhood suffrage in self-governing states, which they suddenly acquired, ever had been known to the Negro race. The white man had slowly and painfully achieved them, and he thus had learned their functions and limitations. But such privileges came to the negro all at once, and found him totally unprepared for their wise use. Laws of growth cannot be contemptuously overridden. Literary culture, not reinforced by industrial training, was productive of mixed results, but the gift of political privileges proved to be almost wholly evil. Where a gradual, conservative introduction to political functions might have been effected with beneficial results, the method actually tried had deplorable consequences. Perhaps the most serious of these was to hasten and aggravate

the alienation of the two races. This, however, was probably inevitable sooner or later. Two groups of men differing in color, temperament, and historical development, as registered in social ideals and sympathies, can not intermingle freely and maintain undifferentiated group life. All theories of abstract rights, all generous hopes to the contrary, must go down before this stubborn law of human affinities and repulsions. Society may find some way to accommodate matters to the law, and thus secure ultimate ends, but the law itself must stand.

CHAPTER II.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

The progress of any people must depend in the long run upon the efficiency of the individuals as producers and accumulators. The progenitors of our present negro population were indolent and wasteful, lacking mechanical ability, foresight and will in the pursuit of distant objects. But, shielded from individual competition with the whites until four decades ago, the negroes made considerable progress toward American standards of industry. Yet emancipation found them far from equalling white labor in efficiency, and the economic system dependent upon their labor was steadily falling behind in the national development.

Nothing seemed easier to explain than this discrepancy between white and black labor. The black was a slave, with no higher motive to exert himself than fear of punishment; the white was a free man, with abundant incentives to work and accumulate. So clear and dramatic was this contrast that other possible factors in the situation were overlooked. Remove the slave's disabilities, (it was said), give him the incentives of the freeman, and he will presently recover from the ill effects of slavery. The argument seemed sufficient and conclusive. In reality, it was very far from it. The foregoing chapters show that the lack of industrial qualities in the negroes was not due to enslavement alone, but to the effects of an environment enduring for unnumbered generations. So much of their inefficiency as was due to the adverse conditions of slavery might be expected to disappear in the later generations enjoy-

ing free citizenship. But so much of it as had its root in hereditary constitution should not be expected to give way before new conditions for centuries. It is in the nature of the case impossible to measure accurately the proportion of inefficiency due to enslavement or to heredity. Some would magnify one, some the other; but certain it is that the importance of the factor of heredity must be more fully recognized than it has been.

Sufficient time has elapsed since slavery passed away for a new generation to come upon the scene. It should be possible for us to ascertain what new traits they are developing as freemen, and what is the significance of these for the future of the race. The industrial capacity our black population is exhibiting to-day, and the progress it is making, are matters of the greatest interest.

A word may be said relative to the scope of the generalizations presently to be made. A large majority of the negroes are still ordinary agricultural or mechanical laborers,¹ constituting practically a single type for the purposes of this investigation. Whenever, therefore, general statements are made it will be this class that is referred to, unless a wider extension is explicitly stated. It will be recognized that there are other classes, small as yet, which must be excepted from many generalizations applicable to the masses of the race. These classes are made up of individuals exceptionally able and forceful. Among their number, too, are many with Caucasian blood in their veins, who thus are not truly representative of African heredity. If the race holds its own, these classes probably will survive and do well, or if it succumbs, they will be the last to go.

¹ See p. 178 for census figures.

To ascertain the industrial efficiency of a people, we may observe directly what traits they reveal, or we may note the occupations they tend to engage in, and the use habitually made of what they earn. Let us proceed to apply each of these tests as fully as the available data will permit. On the threshold of the subject of the negro's capacity as a workman, we are met by a puzzling divergence of opinions. "The difficulty", says Hoffman, "in deciding as to the comparative efficiency of white and colored labor is enhanced by the conflict of opinion, even among those most competent to judge of the negro as an agricultural or industrial worker."¹ He quotes the late Gen. Armstrong as saying: "I know of no subject on which you hear such diametrically contrary opinions as you do about the colored people." Some employers of negro labor declare that it is very satisfactory, while many pronounce it thoroughly disappointing and not to be compared with white labor. No one appears to have made an attempt to reconcile and explain this conflict of opinions.

An explanation, almost self-evident as soon as pointed out, is found in the differences in the employers and industries, taken in connection with the industrial traits of the negro himself. Some employers have not the temperament fitting them to rule fellowmen with an iron hand, and they lack the disposition or patience to exercise minute supervision over heedless and unreliable workmen. Again, irrespective of the character of employers, there are industries of such a nature that a large measure of trust and dependence upon the individual laborer is absolutely necessary. In either of these cases it is evident that

¹ *Race traits and tendencies*, p. 251.

workmen not up to a certain standard of self-reliant skill and steadiness would be declared unsatisfactory. Other employers prefer docile, easily managed laborers, such as can perform hard and comparatively unskilled work, and will submit without friction to thorough subordination. There are industries, though the number is steadily decreasing with the progress of our industrial evolution, in which relatively little independent efficiency is required, or which easily admit of close supervision. Workmen who, under the other conditions above cited, might be counted worthless, might here be considered quite acceptable.

In the light of these distinctions, the apparently inconsistent opinions of negro labor may be harmonized. Those who consider such labor satisfactory, reveal incidentally, by certain adjectives, why they think so. They say, for example, that "the negro is the most docile and tractable of all laborers, and under proper management the most contented and profitable";¹ that he is "eminently successful when directed by intelligent supervision";² in other words, that negroes are valuable laborers because they are first-rate muscular machines, submissive and manageable. Those, however, who prefer white to black labor, say either that it is because negroes as a class are unreliable, require too much supervision, and take little pride in doing good work; or that the nature of the industry is such that workmen of independent spirit and trust-worthiness are indispensable. This explanation implies the industrial inferiority of the negroes as compared with whites, save in a narrow range

¹ Mr. Massey, of Friar's Point, Miss., cited by Hoffman in his "Race traits and tendencies of the American Negro", p. 252.

² Mr. Killibrew, formerly commissioner of labor in Tennessee, cited by Hoffman, p. 268.

of low-grade employments. Much evidence upon this point must be furnished, however, before we can accept it as final.

A singularly forcible illustration of the points just brought out may now be considered. In 1899, at the town of Fayetteville, N. C., a silk mill was established by an able mulatto, Mr. T. W. Thurston, acting as agent for the silk manufacturing interests at Paterson, N. J. Within a short time there were 400 operatives at work with 10,000 spindles. It was avowedly an experiment with negro labor, and it "has proved a signal success."¹ Let us note carefully the conditions upon which success has depended. A correspondent of the *New York Journal of Commerce*, writing under date of October 27, 1900, says: "Mr. Thurston, who is evidently a man of ability and strong character and well educated, has a theory of his own in regard to the way in which a negro mill should be managed, and it is of a somewhat startling character."² He then quotes Thurston, who, after stating that his operatives have proved quite satisfactory, adds:

"But no one can make a success of a mill by applying white methods to colored people. With the latter there is but one rule to follow, that of the strictest discipline. Call it military despotism, if you will. There are no indulgences in this mill. Kindness would be construed as weakness and advantage taken of it to the detriment of our work. Faults and irregularities are severely punished."

The correspondent then drew out the fact that this discipline takes the form of whipping.

"The punishment is not light; it is severe; anything else would be a waste of time. It is upon this system that we have to rely to secure

¹ A very full and interesting account of this mill was given by a correspondent of the *Charlotte Observer*, a leading daily of North Carolina, in its issue of Feb. 11, 1901. The writer has heard other accounts from eye-witnesses, and these accord fully with the printed sources of information used in the text.

² See the *Journal of Commerce*, for Nov. 1, 1900.

a proper performance of duty. All the help engaged here, under twenty-one years of age, are put absolutely under my control, by certificates from their parents or guardians, from six o'clock in the morning to six o'clock at night, and I am free from all responsibilities as to the course I pursue towards them during that time. No one desires more than I do to see the position of my people improved ; but I have no false ideas as to the present condition of the majority of them. They lack the sense of responsibility, and are like children where money is concerned. . . . My methods may be decried by humanitarians, but I am proving their success."

When the mill was first opened this rigid discipline did not exist. The result was that the operatives "were indifferent to their work and behavior, and it was necessary either to correct or discharge them. They preferred the latter, and Thurston, feeling that if he did not have power to discipline the young operatives, he would be compelled to give up," finally resorted to the system already described. This experience illustrates the fact, elsewhere pointed out, that, even under present conditions, the negroes do not feel the same incentives to work, or respond to them as efficiently as the whites. In this case there has been a partial reversion to a former method of securing steady work from an indolent people. Mr. Thurston is clearly of the conviction, founded upon hard experience, that it will not do to rely upon the ordinary incentives in the case of a majority of negroes. Indeed, he says plainly : "Forty years ago they whipped [white] boys in mills, as some of the successful manufacturers of to-day can testify from painful experience, and we are beginning just so many years behind." He attributes the failure of other mills operated by negro workmen to the attempt to treat them like white labor. We have here an instance of an employer, who might well say that his negro operatives are satisfactory and his enterprise a success, but only on condition that he wields a power of discipline over them, such as no body of white workmen would brook for a single day.

Prof. W. E. B. Du Bois, who has made himself an authority upon matters relating to his race, says that "the Negro is, as a rule, willing, honest, and good natured; but he is also, as a rule, careless, unreliable, and unsteady."¹ Mr. Philip A. Bruce, in his careful study of the Virginia plantation negroes, describes them as "steady, docile, and active" only under conditions where they are kept closely under the management of whites. Otherwise, they are restless, continually shifting employment, too heedless to be entrusted with costly agricultural machinery or fine live stock, cheerful and complacent under any conditions of life, and strongly averse to restraint.² Reporting from a typical Louisiana sugar plantation, Mr. J. B. Laws states that "the negroes as a rule do not work any harder than is necessary to keep their families alive."³ He notes the significant fact that Italians are coming in to displace them, because Italians will work steadily as long as wages are paid, whereas the negroes habitually stop work as soon as a little money is paid them, and take a holiday till it is spent. Mr. Alfred H. Stone, after showing that an immense amount of work has been accomplished in the Yazoo-Mississippi delta, tells us that "the capital, the devising brain, the directing will, constitute the white man's part; the work itself is the negro's."⁴ The entire paper from which this is quoted witnesses to the fact that negroes can become valuable

¹ "The Philadelphia Negro", Publications of the Univ. of Pennsylvania, No. 14, p. 97.

² "The plantation Negro as a freeman", pp. 176-192.

³ Bulletins of the U. S. department of labor, No. 38, on "The negroes of the Cinclare central factory and Calumet plantation, Louisiana."

⁴ "The negroes of the Yazoo-Mississippi delta", Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the American Econ. Ass'n., p. 240.

producers, but only on condition that they are thoroughly managed by white men.

Let us examine now certain facts relative to the great staples produced mainly by negro labor. After pointing out the expert care and close application required by tobacco at various stages of its production, Bruce states that

"in all those counties of the tobacco region of Virginia, in which the tobacco crop is cultivated entirely by negroes there has been a notable decline in the quality of the staple as well as in the character of its manipulation, now that the majority of the hands, who were trained for many years under the eye of their master or his overseer, are fast dying off."¹

Hoffman shows that, taking five representative counties of Virginia, whose total negro population much exceeds the white, there was a decline in the tobacco production from 30,504,090 pounds in 1859 to 12,123,264 pounds in 1889.² According to statistics furnished by Prof. Du Bois regarding the production of Prince Edward County, Virginia, there was a falling off between 1850 and 1890 of over one-half in corn, 23 per cent. in wheat, one-half in oats, and a third in tobacco.³ In the greater staples, therefore, this county shows a heavy decline, although hay increased from 487 to 2,513 tons; Irish potatoes from 7,700 to 12,737 bushels; and butter from 47,932 to 133,511 pounds. Yet the white population was only 4,770 in 1890 as against 9,924 negroes.

Exhaustion of the soil accounts for a part of this decline, and possibly the migration of negroes into towns for another part. But since 1860 population has greatly increased, more soil has been brought under cultivation, and better methods of agriculture have be-

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 183.

² "Race traits, etc.", p. 254.

³ See tables in his study of "The negroes of Farmville, Virginia", Bulletins of the U. S. department of labor, No. 14, pp. 2-3.

come known. In another Virginia county, Pittsylvania, where the white population exceeded that of the negroes, and had increased more rapidly, the tobacco production rose from 7,800,000 pounds in 1859 to 12,300,000 in 1889.¹ In four counties of Kentucky, which contain less than five per cent. of negro population, the production of tobacco rose from 90,338 pounds in 1859 to 10,044,856 pounds in 1889.² Fresh soil in Kentucky might account largely for this, and yet this state has long been settled, and it is questionable whether new land was available for any considerable portion of this enormously increased tobacco-culture. In any case, the great contrasts revealed are of no little significance in the present connection.

Hoffman cites evidence going to show, though it does not prove conclusively, that the production of rice and cotton, once peculiarly dependent upon negro labor, is shifting slowly into white hands. He finds that "with less than one-half as large a colored population as Mississippi, the state of Texas produced in 1894 almost three times the cotton crop of the former state."³ Even more significant is the fact that "with almost twice the colored population of 1860, Mississippi in 1894 produced less cotton than 34 years ago."⁴

To the same effect is the strong evidence brought out by Prof. Walter F. Willcox, in a careful study of the causes of negro criminality.⁵ Speaking of the year 1860, he says: "It would probably be a conservative statement to say that at least four-fifths of the cotton

¹ Hoffman, "Race traits, etc.", p. 254.

² *Idem.*, p. 255.

³ *Idem.*, p. 261.

⁴ *Idem.*, p. 261.

⁵ See an address delivered before the American Social Science Association, Sept. 6, 1899, on "Negro criminality", pp. 9-13.

was then grown by negroes; at the present time probably not one-half is thus grown." He finds that tobacco-culture is "evidently tending to center in Kentucky, and yet it is the only Southern state in which the number of negroes decreased during the last decade." Similarly the culture of sugar-cane and rice, according to facts set forth by him, is concentrating into white hands. Summing up, he says:

"From all the evidence obtainable it seems clear that southern agriculture is become increasingly diversified, and is demanding and receiving a constantly increasing amount of industry, energy and intelligence,—characteristics which the whites more generally possess or more readily develop."

We may with yet more certainty attribute to the inefficiency of the negroes the fact that they are giving place to the whites in many occupations. This is particularly true of the skilled trades, requiring long and patient apprenticeship, followed by steady application. Bruce says:

"Indeed, one of the most discouraging features in the character of the negroes who have grown up since the war, is their extreme aversion to the mechanical trades. . . Many who might have been carefully instructed, relinquished the opportunity opened to them as soon as they were old enough to support themselves, at which time they emigrated to a distance and sought employments more congenial to their tastes. The explanation of this antipathy on their part is easily found; such pursuits constrain them to conform more closely than they like to a steady routine of work, which is more arduous and trying on the whole. . . Above all, the laborer is not tied down to one spot; if he grows weary of one locality, he can find occupation elsewhere. But this is not the position of the young mechanic; his success is largely dependent upon his remaining in one place; he secures patronage by winning a reputation for assiduity and skill in his trade, and it is not possible to earn such a reputation as long as he yields to his inclination to wander."¹

In these observations are expressed accurately some of the most serious weaknesses of the negro. The writer, in common with others well known to him, has found

¹ "The plantation Negro, etc.", pp. 232-3.

nothing more destructive of industrial arrangements than the irrepressible inclination of the younger negroes to shift employers and employments. They are forever in search of some "easier job." The most satisfactory employment, from their standpoint, seems to be one which will afford a bare subsistence and a wide margin for idleness and local migrations.

An able newspaper correspondent in North Carolina recently declared, after carefully looking into the matter, that there is now an unmistakable tendency for "the negro to leave the barber's chair and become a shoe-shine; to lay aside the bricklayer's trowel and carry the hod; to quit the carriage seat and shovel manure; to drop the carpenter's saw and take up the hand-spike."¹ After seeing this statement, the present writer made a number of inquiries and observations along the same line, and the result was a complete corroboration of the correspondent's declaration. In 1894, Prof. Hugh M. Browne, during a speech to a negro audience, said:

"White men are bringing science and art into menial occupations and lifting them beyond our reach. In my boyhood the household servants were colored, but now in the establishments of the four hundred one finds trained white servants. Then the walls and ceilings were whitewashed each spring by colored men; now they are decorated by skilled white artisans. Then the carpets were beaten by colored men; now this is done by a white man, managing a steam carpet-cleaning works. Then the laundry work was done by negroes; now they are with difficulty able to manage the new labor-saving machinery."²

Very important and valuable is the testimony upon this point of one who certainly knows whereof he speaks, and whose natural inclination would be against making any grave admission of weakness in his people. With admirable frankness, Booker T. Washington says:

¹ See correspondence of the *Charlotte Observer*, (North Carolina), Jan. 27, 1901, signed H. E. C. Bryant.

² From the A. M. E. Zion Church *Quarterly* for April, 1894; cited by W. F. Willcox, in his address on "Negro criminality", p. 12.

"The place made vacant by the old colored man, who was trained as a carpenter during slavery, and who since the war had been the leading contractor and builder in the southern town, had to be filled. No young colored carpenter, capable of filling his place, could be found. The result was that his place was filled by a white mechanic from the North, or from Europe, or from elsewhere. What is true of carpentry and house building in this case is true, in a degree, in every skilled occupation; and it is becoming true of common labor. I do not mean to say that all skilled labor has been taken out of the negroes' hands; but I do mean to say that in no part of the South is he so strong in the matter of skilled labor as he was twenty years ago, except possibly in the country districts and smaller towns. In the more northern of the southern cities, such as Richmond and Baltimore, the change is most apparent; and it is being felt in every southern city. Wherever the negro has lost ground industrially in the South, it is not because there is prejudice against him as a skilled laborer on the part of the native southern white man; the southern white man generally prefers to do business with the negro mechanic rather than with a white one, because he is accustomed to do business with the negro in this respect. There is almost no prejudice against the negro in the South in the matter of business, so far as the native whites are concerned; and here is the entering wedge for the solution of the negro problem. But too often, where the white mechanic or factory operative from the North gets a hold, the trades union soon follows, and the negro is crowded to the wall."

Here are attested the facts not only that there has been an inexorable displacement of the negroes as skilled workmen, but that this has not been due to prejudice against the race in industrial connections. The net result of Prof. DuBois' study of the Philadelphia negroes was to the same effect, save that he is disposed to attribute much to white prejudice against them.² It appears that the negroes that were able to hold their own, were trained under slavery. Those that have been free to pursue their own bent, have not followed in the footsteps of their fathers, but have sought less exacting occupations.

The census figures of 1890 showed that 85 per cent. of negro males engaged in gainful occupations were in

¹ "The future of the American Negro", pp. 78-9.

² See "The Philadelphia Negro", p. 126, *et seq.*

agriculture and domestic service. Of negro females, 52 per cent. were in domestic service and 44 per cent. were in agriculture, leaving 4 per cent. in all other occupations. "Summing up," says Gannett in his paper on this subject, "it is seen that in the matter of occupations the negro is mainly engaged either in agriculture or in domestic service. He has, in a generation, made little progress in manufacture, transportation, or trade."¹ The results of twelfth census on this question are not yet available.

In the qualities so important to economic welfare, those of self-control and wisdom in the expenditure of earnings, the original African was notably weak, and under slavery the instincts of thrift did not develop. We expect to find, therefore, that the mass of the race is marked to this day by the ancestral traits in these regards. Regarding the Louisiana plantation negroes, we are told by Laws that they

"as a rule never save any money, although there are a very few exceptions. They do not know what economy is, and will buy anything that anybody will sell them on credit. . . No thought is given of durability or appropriateness in the purchase of dress or other articles, but only showiness. . . They will not provide in advance for any contingency."²

Booker T. Washington tells of finding often a sixty-dollar organ in a scantily furnished cabin, "sewing-machines which had been bought, or were being bought, on instalments, frequently at a cost of as much as sixty dollars, or showy clocks for which the occupants had paid twelve or fourteen dollars."³ In some cases the owners could not tell the time of day; rarely could any play a tune on the organ, and comparatively few could

¹ "Occupations of the negroes", by Henry Gannett, J. F. Slater Fund, Occasional papers, No. 6.

² "The negroes of Cinclare central factory, etc.", p. 117.

³ "Up from slavery", p. 113.

use the sewing-machine. Of the Virginia plantation negroes Bruce says: "A brief study of the masses of the race reveals that they have many qualities that stand directly in the way of their material improvement, even in the narrowest sense of the term. . . . The most unfortunate of these qualities are carelessness, improvidence, and destructiveness."¹ They will incur debt without other limit than the creditor's caution.² Commenting on the fact that the city negroes of Philadelphia had accumulated much less property than might have been expected of them, DuBois says:

"Much of the money that should have gone into homes has gone into costly church edifices, dues to societies, dress and entertainment. If the negroes had bought little houses as persistently as they have worked to develop a church and secret society system, and had invested more of their earnings in savings banks and less in clothes, they would be in far better condition to demand industrial opportunity than they are to-day."³

The present writer's personal observations and inquiries in other localities than those above represented,⁴ have elicited information fully in accord with the foregoing evidence.

It is scarcely possible to avoid the conclusion, therefore, that the masses of the negroes are still, like their recent ancestors, unable to realize clearly the future and to sacrifice present gratifications in order to provide for it. They spend their earnings upon impulse, injudiciously and wastefully. They exhibit still an inordinate love

¹ "The plantation Negro, etc.", p. 193.

² *Idem.*, p. 196. See also "Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Amer. Econ. Asso.", pp. 251, 253.

³ "The Philadelphia Negro", p. 185.

⁴ Chiefly in the Carolinas and Washington city. To give a single illustration: During the summer of 1901, an agent for some music house did a thriving business at Morganton, N. C., selling cheap organs to negroes in the surrounding country—negroes who lived in humble cabins and could not play a single tune on the instrument.

for ostentatious display, reckless of consistency and appropriateness.

It would be very misleading, however, to leave the impression that the foregoing facts apply to the entire race. There is a minority, small as yet, which must be excepted from generalizations based upon those facts. They are "the flower of the race," as Bruce puts it, "who alone in the vast swarm of negroes that darken the country like an ominous cloud, give us the least confidence in its capacity."¹ Thousands of negroes have shown themselves possessed of no mean industrial ability. In one vocation or another they have proved their ability to win success, often in spite of great disadvantages. A new class of negroes has made its appearance, a class of small entrepreneurs.² Grocery and cigar stores, restaurants, undertaking establishments, brickmaking, upholstering, and enterprises of like character are what negroes are at present attempting. How far this new development will go it is impossible to predict, but there is considerable promise even in its present status. Many negroes, too, have entered, or are trying to enter, professional callings, chiefly those of teaching and the ministry. A few have entered the civil service and clerical positions. The number of doctors and lawyers is slowly increasing.³

With regard to the accumulation of property, the census of 1890 showed that of 549,632 farms occupied by negroes, 22 per cent. were owned by them. Of those owned,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 216,

² See "The Philadelphia Negro", pp. 115-126; also sections headed "Occupations" in "The negroes of Farmville", "The negroes of Sandy Spring, Maryland", *Bulletins of the U. S. dep't of labor*, Nos. 14 and 32.

³ "The Philadelphia Negro", pp. 111-114; "The college-bred Negro", *Atlanta University Publications*, No. 5, p. 64.

10 per cent. were incumbered with debt. Of the 861,137 homes occupied by negroes, 19 per cent. were owned, of which 13 per. cent were incumbered.¹ In Philadelphia DuBois found that between 5 and 6 per cent. of the negroes were home-owners.² It is impossible to get at the aggregate value of property owned by negroes, though it is known to be very considerable. In three states only are separate data for whites and blacks available—Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. On the basis of tax assessments, it appeared that in 1890 negroes owned 3.1 per cent. of taxable property in Virginia, and 3.5 per cent. in Georgia; in 1891 they owned 3.3 per cent. in North Carolina.³ The total taxable property of the whites in the three states amounted to \$978,000,000 as against \$32,000,000 owned by blacks. This gives a per capita of \$322 for whites and \$16 for blacks. The close agreement of the percentages for three Southern states suggests that the figures may be fairly representative. In any case, it is clear that a small minority of negroes have become owners of property. The aggregate value of this to-day is two or three hundreds of millions of dollars.⁴

This fact appears inconsistent with the various considerations brought out in earlier paragraphs. How are we to harmonize such contradictory evidence? Certain further considerations will help us to an explanation. Increased value does not necessarily imply increased saving, owing to the "unearned increment," as Hoffman rightly points out.⁵ A further consideration is that, being a propertyless class at the start, the negroes could

¹ Gannett, "Occupations of negroes", p. 16.

² "The Philadelphia Negro", p. 184.

³ Hoffman, "Race traits, etc.", p. 298.

⁴ See Hoffman, "Race traits, etc.", p. 287.

⁵ *Idem.*, p. 306.

buy only the cheapest real estate in sight—marginal no-rent land. While indefinite appreciation was, therefore, possible, no considerable depreciation could take place. Since the war thousands of whites have lost heavily because of depreciation, while others have become wealthy through appreciation of real estate values. During the same period many negroes have also gained, but scarcely any have lost.

Again, we must make a distinction between the elder generation trained under slavery, and the younger generation. Many of the former were skilled artisans; others had managed plantations as overseers; and all had been accustomed to steady work and plain living. Thus, they had been drilled into habits favoring humble thrift and accumulation. But their children may not be doing as well as their parents did. Bruce has observed that while many of the ex-slaves acquired land, relatively few of them under ten years of age at the close of the war have done so, save through inheritance.¹ The belief that this is true prevails widely in the South, but after careful examination of the insufficient data available, the present writer was unable to reach a definite conclusion.² There seemed, however, a strong probability that Bruce's statement contained much truth.

But, irrespective of the above comparatively minor qualifications, it is quite possible to grant that some hundreds of thousands of negroes are altogether successful and prosperous, without in the least contradicting the conclusion toward which we are led by the main body

¹ "The plantation Negro, etc.", p. 224.

² There is a great deal of information to be had regarding negro property owners and the amount of their holdings, but extremely little is said by way of indicating the age of these owners. Hence, it is impossible to separate owners old enough to have been slaves, from those grown up since emancipation.

of evidence. As was elsewhere stated, among nearly nine millions of negroes it is perfectly normal for thousands of exceptionally endowed individuals to appear, who are able to far outstrip the racial average. Caucasian blood also has entered as a factor in the case.

The general conclusion we reach, then, is to this effect: that an overwhelming majority of the race in its new struggle for existence under the exacting conditions of American industry, is seriously handicapped by inherited characteristics. Economic freedom has not developed a sense of responsibility and a persistent ambition to rise, as many hoped to see. As a race the negroes are still wanting in energy, purpose, and stability; they are giving way before the able competition of whites in the skilled and better paid occupations; and they fail to husband resources so as to establish economic safety.

CHAPTER III.

SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS PROGRESS.

We shall discuss under one heading the social and religious life of the Negro, although they have heretofore been discussed separately. Since the American negroes became free, there has been a peculiar development tending to combine their social and religious life on a common basis of organization. To discuss either without frequent reference to the other is impossible.

When our colonial forefathers began the importation of Guinea natives, they little dreamed that these people, so manifestly inferior at the time, would ever become free American citizens. This event which took place with abrupt suddenness soon after 1865, illustrated how powerless is legislation to dictate the attitude and action of men in many of the aspects of life. It was impossible to compel the dominant race to receive the negroes as equals, and mingle with them in social and religious activities. In the parlor, at the table, in the pew, whites and blacks will not to-day associate as one people. As for intermarriage and mingling together around the same hearthstone, the very thought is not permitted.

But a social and religious life of some kind the negroes must have; indeed, they are a people whose temperament calls for abundant sociability and religious excitement. There is but one thing for them to do, that is to withdraw to themselves and develop their own organization as a distinct social group. They may vote in common with the whites; they may sue and be sued in the same courts; but they cannot (where numerous)

share the same schools, churches, or social recreations. In all these things they are obliged to act separately.

This cleavage between the races does not, as is often supposed, arise from a mere unreasonable prejudice. Individuals cannot find satisfaction in associated life if there be too much diversity in their appearance, tastes, and traditions. But deeper than the contrast between the whites and blacks in physical features is the difference in temper and instincts. The kind of religious services acceptable to most whites does not attract most negroes. The race tradition which is the root of comprehension and sympathy among the whites, means nothing to the negroes. Only yesterday one race was the slave of the other, and the old caste feeling of the master race persists and will persist for generations. In the light of these facts, the lack of affinity between the two races appears natural and inevitable, and it becomes clear how impossible it is for whites and blacks to mingle as a homogeneous people.

Hence it is that a most significant movement has been going on since emancipation. Under slavery the organization of society was such as to keep the negroes widely distributed and in close contact with the whites. For every one of the thousands of small groups of slaves there was a white family, whose example and forcible discipline operated continuously to bring the lower race into line with our mode of life. The significance of this to a very imitative people, striving, in spite of hereditary weakness, to take on highly civilized life, can hardly be estimated. But with the passing of slavery this link between the two races was broken, and each was free to go its own way. Then set in the movement of segregation, so that to-day the negroes are largely isolated from

the whites. No longer is there a gathering of dusky faces, beaming with delight, when a wedding occurs among the whites; nor is there any attendance of whites at a negro wedding. When there is a death among the whites, there is now no group of family negroes, hovering about in awe-struck grief; at the negro's grave there are no whites expressing a sympathetic sorrow. In their joys and in their sorrows, in their daily life and conversation, the races live apart, and know but little of each other's inner existence. Thus the negroes are forming a second group within the nation, enveloped by white society, but divided from it, and, in most respects, ever less subject to its influence.

There is a marked tendency also for the negroes to segregate geographically in the "black belt" of the South and in the "negro quarters" of cities and towns.¹ Wherever this begins, the whites move away, thus rendering the isolation of the negroes more complete.

Consider now the consequences of this steadily growing cleavage between two groups, compelled to live together as one nation. On emerging from slavery the negroes had but partially assimilated our civilization. Their adaptation to meet the heavy demands put upon them was hardly adequate. They were making painful progress in learning the primary lessons of our civilization, when, with emancipation, all direct control and discipline vanished. And now they are fast losing the powerful stimulus of immediate contact with the superior civilization they are expected to acquire. To offset all this they have gained the privilege of education in letters. This for the vast majority of them means only a few hours of instruction daily, in a poorly equipped

¹ See Hoffman, "Race traits, etc.", pp. 9-31; also Willcox, *Proceedings of the Montgomery conference*, p. 155.

school-room, during a few months of the early years of childhood. Even if the educational facilities were the best possible, the limitations of class-room training are such that it can never outweigh the other education, which every individual gets from the home and society in which he lives. Obviously the negroes of to-day have before them a desperate struggle, if they are to hold even their present position in American society. The question arises: What are they actually doing?

Monogamic marriage and a sense of parental responsibility for the bringing up of children, are parts of the heritage of the Caucasian. About the home and family have developed an atmosphere of tradition, sentiment, and domestic law. But the negroes have only for a short time been acquainted with monogamic marriage, under slavery they practiced it very imperfectly and mainly under compulsion. Refined, chivalrous sentiments toward the weaker sex, deep abiding affection in the family relations, and a keen sense of responsibility for the distant future of offspring, are late products of a long evolution. At best these higher elements of character had been but crudely developed among the negroes by 1863; yet they must rapidly make good these deficiencies or be undone. The evidence now coming to hand from many sources goes to show, however, that the race is unequal to the tremendous task laid upon it.

In a passage well worth quoting at some length, Bruce describes clearly the change of conditions since emancipation and the results observed to follow:

"Although the institution of slavery did nothing to raise the dignity of marriage or to improve the relations of the sexes, it restricted illicit commerce among the negroes to some extent, because it restrained their general conduct. . . They were especially discouraged from wandering about at night or mingling in large congregations; thus their opportunities of falling into lewd habits were diminished,

although the inclination to do so remained unchanged. The personal independence of the present day shows how powerful this inclination was, in spite of the check that was put upon it by the systematic repression of slavery. It is not now reined in by circumstances at all, and the consequence is it is gratified to such a degree that lasciviousness has done more than all other vices of the plantation negroes united, to degrade the character of their social life since they were invested with citizenship. It is in this direction that they seem to be tending most toward a state of nature, and many influences are hastening that event."¹

That there is little, if any, exaggeration in Bruce's strong statement there is abundant proof. We are told concerning the Calumet plantation negroes that "the families are all broken up by the continual swapping of women going on among the men. The negroes do not want children, and use all manner of means to prevent birth;" also that "there are numerous children known by all to be illegitimate, and yet this condition of affairs is considered and spoken of as a matter of course."² The Rev. D. Clay Lilly, secretary of the Presbyterian Board of colored evangelization, relates:

In one county in Mississippi there were, during twelve months, 300 marriage licenses taken out in the county clerk's office for white people. According to the proportion of the population there should have been in the same time 1,200 or more for the negroes. There were actually taken out by colored people just three."³

After an investigation among the "oyster negroes" in the vicinity of Litwalton, Virginia, no less than thirteen per cent. of the children under ten years of age were "reported" as illegitimate.⁴ This is believed to be an understatement of the truth, owing to the tendency to conceal illegitimacy. In Farmville, Virginia, it was

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

² "The negroes of the Cinclare central factory, etc.", pp. 102 and 115.

³ "Proceedings of the Montgomery conference on race conditions and problems in the South", p. 119.

⁴ "The negroes of Litwalton, Virginia" by Dr. W. T. Thom, Bulletin of the U. S. dep't of labor, No. 37, p. 1141.

found by Prof. Du Bois, that fifteen per cent. of all the negro children under ten years were illegitimate,¹ and of a large negro element in Philadelphia, he says: "There is much sexual promiscuity and the absence of real home life."² Regarding the negroes of Sandy Spring, Maryland, where a careful investigation was made, we are told that,

"it is the distinct impression among the older white members of the Sandy Spring community (some of whom have for half a century been doing what they could to help the negroes) that the average moral condition of the negroes is below what it was prior to 1865, and this opinion is shared by a number of the elder conservative negroes."³

In the city of Washington, where "the colored race has had exceptional educational and religious opportunities," the percentage of illegitimate births rose steadily from 17.6 in 1879 to 26.5 in 1894. During the same period the percentage among whites never exceeded 3.6 and in 1894 was only 2.56.⁴ The conditions elsewhere seem to be nearly the same. In Mobile and Knoxville "the rate of illegitimacy is about 25 per cent. of the total births, against an average of about 2.5 for the whites."⁵ Another significant phase of this tendency is revealed in Washington by "the finding of ninety-eight dead infants (negro) in 1888, seventy-one in 1889, sixty-nine in 1890, seventy-five in 1891, and ninety-seven in 1892." A number of living infants were abandoned each year.⁶ Much more evidence might be cited, but would only be cumulative in effect.

¹ "The negroes of Farmville, Virginia", p. 19.

² "The Philadelphia Negro", p. 192.

³ "The negroes of Sandy Spring, Maryland", by Dr. W. T. Thom, Bulletin of the U. S. dep't of labor, No. 32, p. 60.

⁴ Hoffman, "Race traits, etc.", p. 235.

⁵ *Idem.*, p. 237.

⁶ "The negro in the District of Columbia", by Edward Ingle, Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies, vol. xi, p. 101.

The crime of rape, directed against white women, has come into existence since the war. The perpetrators of this crime are overcome in many cases by primitive savage passions, which master the criminal's whole being. A great fear is present which impels to murder.

Where sex relations are ill-regulated and unstable, as shown above, there can be but a mockery of monogamic family life. We should hardly expect under such conditions much improvement in the strength and permanence of parental and filial affection. What we might thus infer *a priori* is strongly supported by facts. The swapping of women by the men on Louisiana plantations clearly implies the absence of true conjugal affection and of established parental and filial relations. Dr. Thom found it impossible to get satisfactory statistics of the "economic family" ¹ in his investigation of the Sandy Spring negroes, because of a too great fluidity of relationships, too much coming and going under the external form of a family group. One of his difficulties, for example, is thus described: "When small boarding members of a family were traced to their real maternal source, the discovery was sometimes made that the possible family did not have now and had never had visible heads enough." ² In his report on "The negroes of the black belt," Prof. Du Bois describes a typical rural family as being a numerous, disorderly, quarrelsome, and neglected looking lot, among whom scarcely a spark of real affection was evinced. He then goes on to say, speaking of the district investigated in Georgia:

"In some respects this family is exceptionally bad, but several others are nearly as barbarous. A few are much better, and in the stone-cutter's five-room house one can find clean, decent family life,

¹ The economic family is defined as including "all persons related and unrelated, living in one house under conditions of family life."

² "The negroes of Sandy Spring", p. 86.

with neatly dressed children and many signs of aspiration. The average of the communities, however, is much nearer the condition of the family first described than that of the better one."¹

Bruce says in substance of the Virginia plantation negroes that they are quite unable to maintain systematic discipline among their children, because steady watchfulness, temperate correction of small faults, and prompt action in disagreeable matters, are precisely what they are incapable of by nature.² Plainly the transition from the polygamic family of West Africa, where women are bought and sold, and family members are pawned into slavery, to the strictly monogamic family life of America, is a journey fraught with enormous difficulty to the transplanted race.

The consequences of the extremely elementary socialization of the West African are revealing themselves among his American descendants. Under the instant and relentless discipline of slavery, anti-social proclivities had small opportunity to manifest themselves. Aside from petty theft and insignificant crimes there was little trouble with the negroes previous to emancipation. But with the liberation of the negroes their obedience to law came to depend upon their voluntary self-restraint, and the weakness of the race at this point has begun to reveal itself to an alarming extent. This phase of the subject has already been so ably and fully treated by Willcox, Hoffman and others, that it does not seem necessary to enter largely into it here. The main facts may be set forth, however, for the present convenience of the reader.

Professor Walter F. Willcox has shown that according to the eleventh census, "in the southern states there

¹ "The negroes of the black belt", Bulletins of the U. S. dep't of labor, No. 22, p. 403.

² *Op. cit.*, p. —.

were six white prisoners to every ten thousand whites, and twenty-nine negro prisoners to every ten thousand negroes," while "in the northern states, in 1890, there were twelve white prisoners to every ten thousand whites, and sixty-nine negro prisoners to every ten thousand negroes."¹ Again, in the South the negro prisoners to ten thousand negroes increased 29 per cent. between 1880 and 1890, whereas the white prisoners to ten thousand whites increased only 8 per cent. In the North "the white prisoners increased seven per cent. faster than the white population, while the negro prisoners increased no less than thirty-nine per cent. faster than the negro population." The positive conclusion reached by him is that "a large and increasing amount of negro crime is manifested all over the country."²

An important point brought out by this writer is that the attitude of the negroes toward crime by no means coincides with that of the whites. After discussing the lynching of the negro incendiaries at Palmetto, Ga., in 1899, and of Sam Hose shortly after, Professor Willcox says :

"The white Caucasians of the Philippines regard a *juramentado* (a Malay Mohammedan fanatic, who slays Christians as a religious duty) as a peculiarly fiendish individual ; many of the brown Malays regard him as a saint and emulate his deeds. The white Caucasians of Georgia regard Sam Hose as a peculiarly fiendish individual ; many of the black Africans, I fear, regard him as an innocent man and a martyr."³

¹ See "Negro criminality", an address delivered before the American Social Science Association at Saratoga, Sept. 6, 1899. Also Hoffman, "Race traits, etc.", pp. 217-234, and a part of Dr. Paul B. Barringer's address before the Montgomery conference on "The sacrifice of a race", "Proceedings", pp. 187-9.

² "Negro criminality", pp. 5-6.

³ *Idem.*, p. 20.

It is of course impossible to determine how far such divergence of opinion between the whites and blacks exists, but as far as it goes nothing could well be more serious and significant.

In the religious life of the American negroes we meet with interesting instances of the survival of racial customs and traits. We have seen that in West Africa the communal life of the village is everything, the private home life, nothing. The African temperament finds no enjoyment in anything unless there are many present and much excitement. Under slavery the propensity of the negroes for the communal group life was almost entirely suppressed. After emancipation the old pastimes were not possible, because too greatly in conflict with the usages of civilized society. But in one direction an opportunity was offered to gratify their instincts without offending the surrounding community, viz., through their church organization. Taking the line of least resistance, they have rapidly developed a church life that resembles in its main outlines the group life of West Africa. In this respect the best class of negroes is not to be distinguished from the average of the race, save in the degree to which refinement and luxury is introduced.

Professor Du Bois, one of the best authorities in this connection, says :

“The Negro church is the peculiar and characteristic product of the transplanted African, and deserves special study. As a social group the Negro church may be said to have ante-dated the Negro family on American soil ; as such it has preserved, on the one hand, many functions of tribal organizations, and, on the other hand, many of the family functions. Its tribal functions are shown in its religious activity, its social authority, and general guiding and co-ordinating work ; its family functions are shown by the fact that the church is a centre of social life and intercourse ; acts as newspaper

and intelligence bureau, is the centre of amusements—indeed, is the world in which the negro moves and acts.”¹ Later he adds: “Without wholly conscious effort the Negro church has become a centre of social intercourse to a degree unknown in white churches, even in the country. . . . All sorts of entertainments and amusements are furnished by the churches; concerts, suppers, socials, fairs, literary exercises and debates, cantatas, plays, excursions, picnics, surprise parties, celebrations.”² To quote another peculiarly significant sentence: “In this way the social life of the negro centres in his church—baptism, wedding and burial, gossip and courtship, friendship and intrigue—all lie within these walls.”³

In other words, there is a markedly distinct preference for the recreations where many can meet, rather than for the private pleasures of home life. Professor DuBois notes that there are few family festivals; little notice is taken of birthdays and such occasions for quiet home celebrations. That he misses the underlying reason for this, however, is revealed in the following words of his discussion: “The home was destroyed by slavery, struggled up after emancipation and is not exactly threatened, but neglected in the life of city negroes”.⁴ How could slavery destroy a home life that had never existed for the race? It is not the negro “home” that has “struggled up after emancipation”, but the ancient racial habit of gregarious communal life, and this is growing to-day at the expense of private home life.

Among the rural negroes these tendencies are not so marked, owing to the greater difficulty of coming together. After stating that the negro churches at Cinclare central factory and Calumet are always well attended, Mr. Laws tells us that “the negroes are naturally a social race and the large attendance at church at both

¹ “The Philadelphia Negro”, p. 221.

² *Ibid.*, p. 222.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

places is easily explained aside from religious attraction, as it is the only place where they get together and talk things over".¹ Bruce's description of religious activity among the Virginia plantation negroes shows clearly that churches are remarkably well attended simply for the social recreation thus afforded.² The present writer has noted how the town and country negroes of North Carolina seek through their churches the social pleasures, which, among the whites, are provided in private homes. It seems clear, therefore, that this singular movement among the negroes is general. An impulse from within, working with other forces, is sending the race along lines divergent from those of our national development as a whole.

The inability of the negroes to see the relation between religious profession and moral conduct has perplexed many. Bruce's statement of the case is admirable:

"The divorce between religion and morality in the life of the negro fills the observer with astonishment, for it seems impossible that he can be both devout and depraved at the same moment; but if he is suspected in the beginning of hypocrisy, that suspicion is dispelled after a brief association with him. . . . He cannot be charged with religious cant and pretence, however immoral or criminal he may be."³

No, it is not necessary to suppose him a hypocrite when he is fervidly religious at church and grossly sinful in his secular life. It is a case of survival. Never in the previous history of his race has morality been associated with religion. For rules of conduct to become interpenetrated with religious associations and sanctions requires a development through an immensely longer period than that of Negro life in America.

¹ "The negroes of Cinclare central factory, etc.", p. 118.

² "The plantation Negro, etc.", pp. 108-9.

³ "The plantation Negro, etc.", p. 110.

The manner in which religious services are conducted in the rural churches and open camp-meetings, reveals once more the dominance of heredity. The writer has witnessed many religious meetings of negroes and has heard descriptions of many more. In superficial details they differ here and there, but not in essentials. The account given by Mr. Laws of the average church service on the Calumet plantation, would fit perfectly thousands of others to be seen throughout the South :

"The elder (or preacher) usually prefaces his sermon with the remark that he is not feeling very well, sticks more or less closely to the text, speaking very quietly for a few minutes, but gradually drifts into a vivid description of various thrilling Biblical scenes, as that of Daniel in the lions' den, or of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the fiery furnace, etc., reaching the climax in seeing the New Jerusalem with the four and twenty elders, or something akin. He moves rapidly from one side of the platform to the other, goes through various facial contortions, perspires freely, 'hollers', and when the whole audience is swaying, moaning, surging, and shouting under intense excitement, the preacher drops his voice for a sentence and sits down exhausted."¹

Compare with this a West African religious service. The priest dances, gesticulates, "goes through various facial contortions," mumbles and shouts alternately, growing more and more wrought up. Suddenly he sees the spirit or spirits whom he represents. While he fervently calls upon them to support him and his people, all around him the densely packed circle of natives become more and more excited, "swaying, moaning, surging, and shouting under intense excitement," until they are in a half-demented state. Have we not evidence here that the same force is preserving unchanged the color of skin, and the psychic nature? Or rather, to be more accurate, we should say, not an unchanged nature, but one changing only by infinitesi-

¹ "The negroes of Cinclare central factory, etc.", p. 119.

mal degrees, so that ages will be required to accumulate decisive modifications.

Superstition survives to a remarkable degree in negro life. The Guinea native's emotional temperament and imaginative mind, developed for ages amid supernaturalism, easily cause the visionary to appear as the real. Under the influence of music, oratory, and the hypnotism of a crowd, any group of negroes can quickly work themselves into a state of mental exaltation, when the real world dissolves from view. This is but an extreme expression of a cast of mind, which under the stimulus of fear, moves insensibly over the hazy line that divides the natural from the supernatural, and falls under the spell of immaterial images. Hence it is that to-day it may be said:

"plantation negroes, in a convenient distance of churches, schools, and railroads are found to have as firm a belief in witchcraft as the savages of the African bush. . . There are communities of negroes in the tobacco belt of Virginia, to-day, that so far resemble an African tribe as to have a professional trick-doctor, a man whose only employment lies in the practice of the art of witchcraft, but it is probable that he is an unconscious empiric as a rule." ¹

The present writer, although familiar from boyhood with the fact that the belief in "conjurers," witches, spells, the efficacy of charms, etc., prevailed everywhere among the negroes, was surprised to learn from personal inquiries, the extent to which it exists. In the city of Washington there are numerous "doctors," so called, who thrive upon the superstitions of their people, professing to remove "spells," to detect and punish those who have "put spells on" others, to furnish valuable charms, etc. Inquiry in regard to Richmond, Baltimore, and New Orleans, has elicited similar facts. During the summer of 1900 a report got out among the negroes of a community in North Carolina that the ghost of a person

¹ Bruce, "The plantation Negro, etc.", p. 115.

whose death had occurred under unusual circumstances, was "haunting" a certain road. The negroes along the road could not be induced to travel it by night, preferring to go to town by a roundabout path. Such occurrences are common throughout the South. Negroes in rural districts will not use a lightning-struck tree for fuel. A rusty nail or a darning-needle, with red flannel wrapped about it, is worn by thousands of American negroes at this moment as a charm to fend off misfortune. Thus, West Africa survives on American soil.

To avoid misunderstanding it must again be remarked that there are many thousands who have risen far above the average of their race, who constitute an intelligent, civilized aristocracy, in the better sense of that term, and who must be excepted from the generalizations enforced by the foregoing evidence. But they cannot be cited as arguing a capacity in the mass of the negroes to attain American civilization at a pace in harmony with our national progress. Prof. John R. Straton has well said :

"We must not confuse the rapid development of exceptional individuals with the evolution of the race. Picked individuals, strengthened often in mental vigor by infusions of white blood, may grow rapidly ; but the evolution of the race comes slowly—a part of each new element of strength being transmitted by the laws of heredity from father to son, and so on to succeeding generations ; and so, slowly and painfully, a race advances. It is not a matter of decades, but of centuries. The Negro race as a whole, however, may go forward higher yet in outward forms, but still deep down beneath these things may lie the tendencies which give color to the fear that they are a decaying people." ¹

¹ See the Proceedings of the Montgomery conference, p. 149.

CHAPTER IV.

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

Reversion to type takes place where the artificial conditions by which a species has been modified in form and habits, are removed. The system of slavery served as a means of holding the inferior race to at least a semi-civilized mode of life, despite any propensities to the contrary. After the war the negroes, loosed from familiar restraints, were incapable of appreciating the more refined ones in a highly civilized society. It was the belief and dread of many slave-owners that the negroes would revert to savagery ; it was the belief and hope of most anti-slavery advocates that the freedmen would attain to the standard of American civilization. The slave-owners failed to realize the inertia of habit, which would prevent in any case, an immediate relapse into savagery. But were they mistaken in their opinion that the Negro was not even potentially a Teuton under a black skin? The abolitionists, moderate and extreme, were right in feeling that slavery was a hideous anachronism, but did they realize adequately the problem to be faced after emancipation? The sword finally determined which body of opinion, and what national policy toward our African population, should prevail. This policy was a natural recoil from the institution held responsible for the freedmen's low status, while less obvious factors in the situation were overlooked in the passion of that period. Those who saw that slavery had failed to give the negroes sufficient incentives to progress, and had denied them education and a voice in

government, believed that freedom, education and the ballot, would be effective means of elevating them to the standard of American citizenship.

Formerly the term "education" in ordinary speech meant nothing more than the acquisition of literary knowledge, including, in advanced stages, the classics, higher mathematics, and the natural sciences. If morals and industrial efficiency were thought of at all, it was assumed that young people would acquire them in the home and work-shop. With the advent of kindergartens, manual training, and other additions to the old curricula, we are becoming familiar with a broader conception of education. It includes the training not merely of the intellect, but of the heart and hand as well.

At the time the negroes were freed, the narrower conception prevailed. Hence, in the great effort then inaugurated to educate the negroes, only literary training was supplied, in the belief that this of itself would work wonders for the race. Little thought was given to the fact that the negro child did not have the Caucasian home, and that behind the literary schooling of the white had always existed the nurture of the civilized home; yet without the home no great development of ideals, morality, habits of industry, can be expected. It was forgotten or discredited that the negroes and whites had fundamentally different aptitudes and needs. On this point Dr. J. L. M. Curry has put the truth in few, though emphatic words :

"The curriculum was for a people in the highest degree of civilization; the aptitude and capabilities and needs of the negro were wholly disregarded. Especial stress was laid on classics and liberal culture to bring the race *per saltum* to the same plane with their former masters, and realize the theory of social and political equality. A race more highly civilized, with the best heredities and environments,

could not have been coddled with more disregard of all the teachings of human history and the necessities of the race." ¹

Nor was it realized how immense and difficult a task it would be to provide educational advantages at once for four and a half millions of people.

The census of 1860 showed 4,441,830 negroes in the country, of whom 226,216 were in the north and 4,215,614 were concentrated in the south, where ruin and chaos were presently brought on by war. 151,245 free negroes were reported able to read and write, this being three per cent. of the negro population. Among the slaves a few were able to read and write, but probably ninety-five per cent. of the negroes were illiterate.² Clearly, with the South exhausted, and millions of whites still in need of education, the providing of satisfactory education for the blacks within two or three decades was absolutely impossible. Illiteracy among the rapidly increasing black population was nevertheless reduced to less than 80 per cent. by 1870, to 70 per cent. by 1880, and to 56.8 per cent. by 1890.³ In 1900 44.5 per cent. remained illiterate, while a very large proportion of those counted literate had but the smattering of an education.⁴ As Dr. H. B. Frissell says:

"Fair provision is made for the city children, but in the great country districts, where 80 per cent. of the southern people live, there are in many localities miserable schoolhouses, school terms that do not average more than three months, and school teachers who are often but poorly equipped for the important work that has been given them to do." ⁵

¹ Proceedings of the Montgomery conference, etc., p. 109.

² In appendices to his "Southern sidelights" Edward Ingle gives much information on this subject in conveniently tabulated form.

³ Report of the U. S. commissioner of education, 1897-8, vol. ii, p. 2486.

⁴ Twelfth Census, vol. 2, p. xcvi.

⁵ Proceedings of the Montgomery conference, etc., p. 87.

If education is to be regarded as the great reliance to prevent the negroes from reverting to lower conditions, it would appear (1) that it was poorly devised and inefficient, and (2) that, after a quarter of a century of earnest effort, nearly half the race remained untouched by it. Hence, though we must deplore, we can hardly be surprised at, the situation described in the two preceding chapters. Nor should we blame the generation just past. We have here an instance, not of human fault, but of human limitation.

A wiser policy may guide us in the future. The conception of education as including training of the heart and hand, is being widely recognized. From the foundation of the celebrated Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, in 1868, the methods have been based upon this conception.¹ Dr. H. B. Frissell, the present principal, describes the work done there as follows:

"The Hampton school has its workshops as well as its schoolrooms, its farms and saw-mills as well as its church. It is really an industrial village where a thousand young people are being trained in life's industries. Commencing in the kindergarten the children are instructed in the use of the wash-tub and the ironing-table, the hoe and the rake, as well as in music and reading. The work habit—love for the labor of the hand—is created and cultivated throughout the whole course. Every boy is taught agriculture, work in wood, iron, and tin, as well as history, geography, mathematics, and other English studies."²

¹ The founder, Gen. S. C. Armstrong, was born in Hawaii, his father being an American missionary and minister of public instruction. Thus young Armstrong became familiar with the methods adopted for the Hawaiians. He tells how his early impressions influenced him in developing Hampton Institute: "Illustrating two lines of educational work . . . were two institutions: the Lahaina-luna (government) Seminary for young men, where with manual labor, mathematics and other higher branches were taught; and the Hilo Boarding and Manual-labor (missionary) School for boys. . . . As a rule the former turned out more brilliant, and the latter less advanced, but more solid men. In making the plan of the Hampton

² Proceedings of the Montgomery conference, etc., p. 95.

In Tuskegee institute substantially the same methods are pursued, its organizer and present manager, Booker T. Washington, being a graduate of Hampton. In these institutions the fact is frankly recognized that, however, it may be with whites, the negroes need to be severely drilled into the habit of labor and inspired with a higher standard of morals than exists in their present racial atmosphere. Literary education is not denied; indeed, it is given as freely as practicable, but only as the complement of more vital attainments.

The wisdom of this method of instruction for the negroes has been abundantly proved by results. On this point Dr. Frissell says:

"Scores of letters from southern county and state superintendents bear witness to the industry and thrift of these young people, and their kindly relations with the southern whites. If one will go into the black belt of Virginia he will find scores of Hampton graduates and graduates of other institutions, engaged in the industrial and agricultural leadership of their people, and commanding the respect and confidence of the best men of the white race. He will find a wonderful increase in land holding among the blacks, and a corresponding decrease in crime."¹

This is not an exaggerated statement of the results achieved at Hampton.² Had instruction by this method been given from the beginning to a majority of the race, doubtless the evils never would have gained great headway, and even might have been overcome. If

Institute, that of the Hilo School seemed the best to follow." Graduates of the more pretentious school, where literary culture was attempted rather than manual training, "had frequently been disappointing", while graduates of the mission school turned out more uniformly successful in a practical sense. See "Twenty-two years' work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute", pp. 1-2.

¹ Proceedings of the Montgomery conference, pp. 95-6.

² The writer speaks from information furnished by persons well acquainted with the work being done by Hampton graduates in Virginia.

widely employed now would it suffice to arrest the degeneration of the negroes?

An affirmative answer implies the belief that because a few schools of this type have accomplished excellent results with a few pupils, similar results could be achieved for the race generally by multiplying the institutions. This depends upon whether the material with which Hampton works, fairly typifies the mass of raw material to be improved.

Opening a catalogue of that institution and examining the terms of admission, we discover that it works only with stringently sifted material. Following are extracts from the catalogue, printed as in the original :

"SOUND HEALTH, testimonials of GOOD CHARACTER, and intention to remain through the course, are required of all applicants. Candidates for admission coming from common schools or from other institutions, must present letters of honorable dismissal and of recommendation. . . .

Able-bodied, capable, young men and women of good character are encouraged to apply for admission on the following terms :

1. To work steadily all day for at least an entire year from the time of entering (usually October 1st), and attend night school for two hours five nights a week.

Note.—*No one need apply who is not well and strong and capable of doing a man's or woman's work.* None under seventeen years need apply. . . .

3. The first three months are probationary

The utmost economy is expected from the students, in order that they may accumulate money for their expenses in the day school."¹

Note the severely selective effect of such conditions. Sound health, good character, stringent economy, and great industry make a combination of conditions for

¹ See catalogue for 1896-7, pp. 9-10. One of old date was purposely used here, since we are discussing results gained by past work. The conditions of admission to Tuskegee are similar, but hardly as exacting in detail as those quoted. See any recent catalogue of Tuskegee Institute.

entrance which thousands never can meet. If the youth of the race generally were qualified to enter Hampton on its own terms, the problem would be already half solved. The results attained at Hampton therefore fail to prove that like results could be secured amongst the negroes at large.

Let there be no misunderstanding of the attitude here taken. Under the conditions confronting Hampton and similar institutions, the policy of carefully selecting the students seems thoroughly sound. A maximum of good is thus achieved with the funds available. The method of instruction is probably the best yet devised for uplifting the negroes. And although Hampton methods could not achieve for the race indiscriminately the same results now gained with picked material, yet a general application of these methods to the negroes, with compulsion if necessary, would improve their condition and at least retard degeneration.

The difficulty of a speedy and general application of these methods is not mainly one of finance. Without easing the rigid discipline maintained at Hampton, (and this certainly never should be permitted), it would become difficult to secure general and steady attendance, as soon as the masses began to be reached. There may be as yet many more individuals than can be provided for, ready and anxious to pass through Hampton or Tuskegee on any terms, but such exceptional material would soon be exhausted upon the inauguration of an extensive system. Hence, nothing short of a vast expenditure of money in multiplying Hamptons and Tuskegees, coupled sooner or later with compulsory attendance, will avail to arrest the steady reversion to type, now exhibited by the American branch of the race.

That the alphabet and Arabic numerals do not furnish a magic key to civilization has been only too well shown by experience. That efficient, moral, industrial and literary education suffices to civilize picked negroes has been demonstrated. That its general application would be of great benefit to them we cannot doubt. Wisely directed education may largely control character in spite of heredity, but it is well to remember that while efforts toward education often miss their mark, heredity is persistent and unerring.

CHAPTER V.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND SUMMARY.

The assumption was made after the liberation of the negroes, that if they were given constitutional rights they would be ensured against political evils. Fearing that they would be practically re-enslaved under forms of law, unless given an equal share in government with their former masters, the party in power endowed the freedmen with unrestricted suffrage. The experience of the negroes in thus passing almost at once from slavery to full-fledged citizenship, hardly has a parallel in the political annals of mankind.

Neither in West Africa nor under American slavery had the negroes had any opportunity to exercise self-government. Certainly there was nothing in the experience of the natives of the Guinea coast, living in petty despotisms, to develop political capacity or civic virtue. During their enslavement in this country they were never called upon to give a thought to matters of public welfare, and they did not control even their own personal and family affairs. It is true that in so far as they became more civilized, learning to understand and live in harmony with our institutions, they were by so much the better prepared to enter into our political life. But the specific development in political capacity, required for the successful conduct of republican government, the slaves entirely missed. Thus at the close of the war the negroes were still, as when they left Africa, infants in political development. Utterly ignorant of our governmental organization, they were unfitted to acquire rapidly a knowledge of it. They had not even the ele-

mental qualities of character necessary to wise self-government—foresight and self-command.

In this condition they were suddenly given as much political power as the most intelligent citizens of our land. The responsibilities thus laid upon them prematurely, are well expressed by Dr. Curry :

“ We are trying . . . to govern upon the theory that every man is a political expert, entitled to have an opinion upon all economic, social, and political questions, and that a majority told by the head, whether that head be covered with hair or wool, is the voice of God. The principle is that one man's opinion upon the most important national and international questions, finance, currency, coinage, tariff, territorial expansion, imperialism, is as good as another's, and that the voter has sufficient knowledge and patriotism to make it safe to trust to him the most important of all human business.” ¹

When we consider in the light of this the mental and moral condition of the freedmen, there can be no surprise at the disastrous results that quickly followed their enfranchisement.

Certain conditions, left by the war, affected the negroes particularly. When the negroes received the right of suffrage there was but one issue that they could understand, viz., whether they were to remain free or not, though this was then a dead issue. For them there were but two parties, one of which was identified with the power that had freed them, the other with the power that had sought to keep them in slavery. They ranged themselves in a solid mass on the one side, and have remained there ever since. Not understanding the issues that have arisen in the interval, they have clung to the one issue they could comprehend.

This disregard of real issues, and the rejection of the leadership of white men in their own section, whose interest it was to maintain good government, had an un-

¹ Proceedings of the Montgomery conference, p. III.

fortunate result. Adventurers from the North, and demagogues at home, who had no interests at stake in the defeated states, presently acquired the leadership of the negroes, and received their political support *en masse*. Partly owing to the fact that negroes were in excess of whites in many localities, and partly because many whites were excluded from the ballot by temporary disqualification,¹ a revolution ensued that placed the former slaves with their new leaders in charge of state and local governments throughout a large portion of the South. A greater misfortune could hardly have happened to the negroes than to have received their first political lessons under such leaders.

A foreigner's view of the state of affairs during reconstruction, may perhaps be more impartial than that of any writer in our own country. Mr. Lecky, the English historian, says :

"The enfranchisement of the negroes added a new and enormous mass of voters, who were utterly and childishly incompetent. . . For some time after the war the influence of property and intelligence in the South was completely broken, and the negro vote was ostensibly supreme. The consequence was what might have been expected. A horde of vagrant political adventurers from the North . . . poured into the southern provinces and, in conjunction with the refuse of the mean whites, they undertook the direction of the negro voters. Then followed, under the protection of northern bayonets, a grotesque parody of government, a hideous orgie of anarchy, violence, unrestrained corruption, undisguised, ostentatious, insulting robbery, such as the world had scarcely seen. The state debts were profusely piled up. Legislation was openly put up for sale. The 'Bosses' were in all their glory, and they were abundantly rewarded. . . . At length the northern troops were withdrawn, and the whole scene changed. The carpet-baggers had had their day, and they returned laden with southern booty to their own states. Partly by violence, partly by fraud, but largely through the force of old habits of obedience and command, the planters in a short time regained their ascendancy. Sometimes, it is said, they did not even count the negro votes. Gen-

¹ By act of Congress, March 23, 1867. See U. S. Statutes at large, vol. xv, p. 3.

erally they succeeded in dictating them, and by systematic manipulation or intimidation, they restored the South to quiet and some degree of prosperity. A more curious picture of the effects of democratic equality among a population who were entirely unfitted for it has never been presented."¹

It was in effect a revolution by force that put the ex-slaves in power. The counter-revolution that restored to power the only residents in the South capable of bringing order out of chaos, was effected by every means that a desperate people could invent. Meantime the impression left upon the minds of the Southern whites was to the last degree unfortunate for the negroes. "Negro domination" became a synonym for all that men of English descent have stubbornly refused to tolerate in government for a thousand years. Unable to protect themselves by legitimate means, because subjected to the federal law, in the making of which, they for the time, had no voice, the whites were compelled to resort to illegal methods. Against an able and politically experienced race, the negroes could not prevail, even in sections where they were much in the majority. Thus, after a brief period of power, the negroes quickly were deprived of it, and have since exercised political rights only on sufferance.

But the danger and dishonor of deliberately ignoring constitutional and legal provisions was keenly felt by the very class that resorted to intimidation and fraud to preserve their civilization. As time went on and the atmosphere became clearer, they began to search for some means by which to effect their object by legal methods. Inasmuch as the states have power to regulate the suffrage so long as they keep within the broad limitations prescribed by the federal constitution, a

¹ "Democracy and liberty", by W. E. H. Lecky, vol. i, pp. 93-4. See also "Union and disunion", by Woodrow Wilson, pp. 263-4.

movement began about the end of the eighties to secure the main end in view by state constitutional amendments.

In 1890 the state of Mississippi set a precedent by amending her constitution so that after Jan. 1, 1892, no person could vote unless "able to read any section of the Constitution" or "to understand the same when read to him and give a reasonable interpretation thereof."¹ The payment of a poll tax was also required. South Carolina followed in 1895 with an amendment, the effect of which was to require that every voter should be able to read and write any section of the Constitution, or show that he owned and had paid taxes upon property assessed at \$300 or more.² Louisiana, in 1898, passed an amendment substantially the same in effect as that of South Carolina, but with the addition of a "grandfather clause", which admits illiterate or propertyless whites to the ballot by excusing from the limitations of the amendment all descendants of men who voted previous to the war.³ North Carolina took similar action in 1900, excepting that no property qualification was required, while the payment of a poll tax was.⁴ Alabama and Virginia have very recently passed amendments to the same general end. It is probable that all the states having a large proportion of negro population will ultimately pursue this policy.

It is here no concern of ours to discuss this action as regards its wisdom or justice. It seems to those having to face the problem, to be one of those necessary compromises between ideal principles and actual conditions

¹ See the Annual cyclopedia, vol. xv, pp 559-60.

² *Idem.*, vol. xx, p. 705.

³ *Idem.*, third series, vol. iii, p. 409.

⁴ *Idem.*, vol. v. p. 444.

with which our history is full and without which our federal Union never could have existed. But the immediate effect is to disfranchise a large majority of negroes till such time as they can become an intelligent property-owning class, with some appreciation of actual present-day issues and with some interest at stake. Under these circumstances a strong motive is given them to advance themselves in intelligence and material prosperity.

But as the capacity for political self-government is an integral part of general character, the ability to command a proportionate share of governmental power against able competition can hardly exceed the ability to develop industrial importance. In foregoing chapters, however, we have seen that the negroes do not at present give evidence of a general advance in morality or industrial efficiency. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion, therefore, that they are not destined at any early date to regain political power proportionate to their numbers.

Nor can we be surprised at this. Forty years ago the negroes were as little children in political development. To have acquired within forty years what has required the whole range of English and American history for the whites to develop, would have been a marvel without precedent.

Let us glance back over the career of the Negro as we have traced it from his earlier home in Africa. We saw that there the negroes were a semi-nomadic people, living, partly by primitive agriculture, fishing and hunting, and partly upon the free gifts of nature. They had a poor and fluctuating diet, were very scantily clothed, and lived in very simple huts. Their women were made to perform all the drudgery. The value of time and of labor-saving appliances was but dimly appreciated.

They were controlled by present impulses and made no provision for the future.

They dwelt in little village communities and had no regard for life and property outside of these. Even within the village they thought little of destroying the sick or useless, and could not comprehend sentiments of compassion. A large portion of their population was enslaved. Polygamy prevailed, women were bought and sold, and chastity was valued only as a salable commodity. Parental and filial affection, with the exception of that between mother and son, was weak and transient. Social morality was not supported by religion, the gods being supposed to have no interest in the conduct of men toward men.

Their religion was a dark and cruel fetichism. They attributed all events to spirits, to propitiate whom they offered sacrifices, including very often, human victims. They wore charms for protection. Many victims were killed on the charge of witchcraft, and many to supply companionship and service for the departed great in the land of the dead.

With the exception of two or three petty kingdoms, founded upon conquest, the village or group of related villages was the largest political unit known to them. These units were ruled by chiefs in accordance with a few simple customs, interpreted in each special case as the chief might please. Intertribal warfare for slaves and plunder prevailed almost everywhere, and was characterized by horrible cruelties and enormous waste of life.

Such was life along the Guinea coast when Shakespeare was producing his dramas, when Bacon was writing the *Novum Organum*, when English explorers were sailing

every ocean, and English colonists were laying the foundations of our Republic. By a strange destiny the Caucasian and the Negro came to live together under the same flag in North America.

In the course of removal from Africa the negroes were subjected to a drastic selection, which eliminated physically inferior individuals. During slavery a mild form of artificial selection went on. By these experiences the race probably made a gain, which was registered in heredity. The amalgamation in this country of slightly differing tribes was probably beneficial, while that of black with white seems to have resulted in psychic improvement but physical deterioration. The change to a temperate climate, a more steady and substantial diet, and intelligent medical care, was favorable to vigor and energy. Thus the American negroes must have become rapidly superior to their West African contemporaries.

Under white discipline the negroes learned to work more efficiently. The former indolent life of the men was quickly changed into one of useful production, and both sexes acquired skill in many occupations. There gradually appeared at least four classes, viz., the unskilled field-hands, the mechanics, the house-servants, and the sub-overseers and stewards.

The grosser ideas and practices of West African life were soon dropped. Polygamy was forbidden and destroyed as an institution. Monogamy was substituted in form and by thousands was accepted in good faith. Among those more closely associated with the whites, family life became of a much higher type than was ever before known to the Negro race. Christianity was accepted, and though the new religion was debased by many mis-

conceptions and thinly disguised superstitions, it was infinitely superior to the old. The negroes acquired in the English language an improved uniform medium of communication, and along with this their general intelligence was much increased.

At the close of their experience under slavery the negroes had made, therefore, an immense advance in the direction of civilized life. While this was in part founded securely upon a natural basis, it was no doubt due in part to an artificial, forced development. In any case, however, they were still far behind their masters in every element of fitness for highly developed social life. In view of this it was a critical step for them when they ceased to be slaves and became direct competitors of the abler white race in the struggle for life. Since emancipation this competition has relentlessly advanced.

No longer controlled by external force, the negroes have depended for a generation past upon their own self-command. But from time immemorial they have been weak in self-command, they have been dominated by impulse, and inclined to an indolent semi-nomadic existence, and they have possessed an extremely primitive code of morality. Under slavery they were kept widely distributed, in close contact with the whites, so that example and discipline could be very effective against hereditary inclinations. When liberated to follow their own bent, they began to gravitate together until to-day they live isolated, for the most part, from white society. Thus they have lost the stimulus of example, as well as the direct training and discipline, given by the superior race. The strain required to maintain life on the level of the whites is driving the negroes to develop a society of their own, with easier

moral standards, better fitted perhaps, to their peculiar temperament. This movement is symptomatic of a dangerous weakness, while at the same time directly contributing to aggravate it.

According to the balance of the evidence now available, it appears that the negroes of the younger generation are restless, unsteady at labor, and impatient of restraint ; that they are yielding place to the whites in many of the better paid employments, and that they are excessively fond of spending for display or other economically unsound purposes. It also appears that in their sexual and family relations there is increasing looseness and instability. Following their strongly gregarious instincts, they are rapidly developing the communal group life afforded through church organization, rather than the private life of the home. Their imperfect socialization is revealing itself in their criminality, which is increasing at a much greater ratio than the negro population.

Confronted by these facts, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that the heavy task laid upon the American Negro, after liberation from slavery, has proved too much for him, and that this people, considered as a whole, is slowly but surely tending to revert. Seized and transplanted unwillingly, forced sharply into new and severely exacting habits of life, held for a time in this condition of strain, and then suddenly released, the Negro finds it surpassingly difficult to suppress the hereditary instincts that do not harmonize with American social organization. He is finding that two or three centuries are all too brief a period in which to compass almost the entire range of human development.

There is nothing in this conclusion to surprise the

student of evolutionary phenomena. But no right-minded citizen can help deploring it, and hoping that some means may be found of preventing reversion with its inevitable consequence—elimination. Many believe firmly that the magic of education affords the requisite means. Experience has amply demonstrated that mere literary culture will not serve to transform a savage into an efficient member of civilized society. But experience has equally shown that a thorough education of heart and hand, as well as of intellect, will with selected material give valuable results. Applied to all the race, this method could not yield results proportionately great, though a vast amount of good would be done. Meantime, however, only a few thousands are to-day receiving the kind of education critically needed by all the negroes, and almost a half of their number have never received any education at all. In this case a vast educational system is necessary, and under human limitations this cannot be brought into existence and perfected within a brief period. It is not to be forgotten that there are millions of untaught whites also to be provided for. Whatever else happens, hereditary forces, for a time suppressed, will steadily continue to reassert themselves. Obviously, heroic measures are required to reach the millions of negroes.

Surveyed broadly, the outlook for the American negro is not bright. From the native of Guinea to the modern Afro-American is certainly a long step, but from the Guinea natives to the Caucasian builders of our Republic is a yet longer step. It is the hard fate of the transplanted Negro to compete, not with a people of about his own degree of development, but with a race that leads the world in efficiency. This efficiency was

reached only through the struggle and sacrifice prescribed by evolutionary law. There are many who believe that a shorter path to greatness exists, since the science of education has been developed. But so long as the powerful conservatism of heredity persists, scarcely admitting of change save through selection of variations, it is to be doubted whether education has the efficiency claimed for it. Time, struggle and sacrifice have always hitherto been required to create a great race. If these are to be exacted of the Negro, he must traverse a long road, not in safe isolation in a country all his own, but in a land filling fast with able, strenuous, and rapidly progressing competitors. Under such circumstances his position can with difficulty be regarded as other than precarious to the last degree.

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